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Samau'al al-Maghribī Ifḥām Al-Yahūd: Silencing the Jews / إفحام اليهود: تأليف السموءل المغربي (القرن السادس الهجري)

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SAMAU'AL AL-MAGHRIBĪ

IFḤĀM AL-YAHŪD

Silencing The Jews

Edited and Translated

by

Moshe Perlmann

New York

American Academy For Jewish Research

1964

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אות אהבה לאבי

זכרון לנשמת אמי

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The material for this publication was assembled over a number of years. A leave of absence from the Harvard Center of Middle Eastern Studies enabled me to concentrate on the preparation for publication of Samau'al's Ifḥām (and Ibn Kammūnā's Tanqīḥ). I am grateful to the Director of the Center, Professor H. A. R. Gibb, for his sympathetic consideration of my plans. A Rockefeller Foundation grant helped make these plans practicable.

I am indebted to Mrs. Martha Smith who put the manuscript into shape, and to Charles Wendell whose invaluable help I enjoyed during various stages of the work.

It gives me great pleasure to thank the libraries whose facilities I was privileged to use and, in particular, those who made available the basic manuscripts.

The notes marked "B," which follow the translation, may be of value to the reader interested in further details and bibliography.

Both in Arabic and in English, the pages of the basic manuscript are indicated in order to facilitate the identification of parallel passages.

Los Angeles, April 1964.

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Apart from the usual abbreviations, the following symbols have been used in the notes:

Baron	S. W., *A Social and Religious History of the Jews,* 2nd ed. (New York, 1952-)
Bergmann	J., *Jüdische Apologetik im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (Berlin, 1908)
Blumenkranz	B., *Juifs et Chrétiens dans le monde occidental* 430-1096 (Paris, 1960)
Clair-Tisdall	W., *A Manual of the Leading Mohammedan Objections to Christianity* (London, 1912)
E I	*Encyclopaedia of Islam*
Elbogen	I., *Der jüdische Gottesdienst* (Leipzig, 1913)
C. Brockelmann	*GAL Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Weimar-Leiden, 1898-1942) S — Supplementband
Ginzberg	L., *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1925-47)
I H	Ibn Hazm
I Q	Ibn Qayyim
Krauss	S., *Das Leben Jesu nach jüdischen Quellen* (Berlin, 1902)
SEI	*Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden, 1953)
Schreiner	M., *"Zur geschichte der Polemik zwischen Juden und Muhammedanern" (in Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* v. 42)
SPL	M. Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache* (Leipzig, 1877)
Stein	E., *Alttestamentliche Bibelkritik in der spaethellenistischen Literatur* (Lwow, 1935)
Taj	Hebrew-Aramaic-Arabic Pentateuch (Jerusalem, 1895-1901)
Tcherikover	A., *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1959)

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INTRODUCTION

Samau'al al-Maghribī, a distinguished scholar, mathematician, and physician of the twelfth century, lived in what is today Syria, Iraq and Iran. Born and brought up in the Jewish faith he became a convert to Islam, whereupon he wrote a tract against the Jews to which he later appended an autobiography. These two documents are of considerable interest and historical value.

The Author

Samau'al mentions in his autobiography that his father Yehuda b. Abūn, a man of considerable accomplishments in Hebrew learning and writing, both prose and verse, had emigrated from the West. It has been suggested that the father can be identified with a minor Hebrew poet of the time. After settling in the East, perhaps to escape persecution under the Almoravides, Yehuda married into a distinguished family in Baghdad.[1]

Samau'al's first teacher was his father who later employed good instructors for his gifted son. Up to age 13, Hebrew, the Bible and its commentaries formed the curriculum in which there is no trace of talmudic study. At the same time, from age 10 to 13, Samau'al read first the Arabic fiction literature of his day — stories, anecdotes, popular romances of knighthood; later he read the works of historians (Ṭabarī and Ibn Miskawayh in particular). He shows acquaintance with Arabic poetry.[2] After the boy reached the age of 13, he pursued only secular studies: mathematics, astronomy, and the theory and practice of medicine.[3] Before he was twenty he was

1. The data on Samau'al's father are sifted by H. Schirmann in v. VI of the *Bulletin of the Hebrew Poetry Research Institute* [Jerusalem, 1945] pp. 297 sq. Cf. *GAL* I 488, S I 892; *ALJ* under Samuel b. Abbas.

2. The text published here contains a few verses from Mutanabbi. The unpublished work on erotica is replete with poetical quotations. Cf. Ahlwardt's Berlin Catalogue, No. 6381. The medical aspect of this work is discussed by L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la medicine arabe*, v. II (Paris, 1876) pp. 14-18.

3. His teachers are listed in the autobiography.

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an accomplished student and practitioner, and began the composition of a series of works on mathematical and medical subjects. His attainments won him wide recognition.[4] It has been shown that Samau'al won a place in the history of science in medieval Islam.[5]

The most distinguished of his teachers in Baghdad was the philosopher-physician Abū-l-Barakāt.[6] Perhaps a colleague of Samau-'al's was the young Hebrew poet Isaac, son of Abraham Ibn Ezra, the globe-trotting poet-scholar-commentator, from Spain.[7] It is remarkable that the teacher and these two disciples ended by converting from Judaism to Islam. The old man took the step toward the end of his life. The poet was full of remorse, and eager to nullify his conversion. It was left to Samau'al to defend, justify, and uphold the transition to the dominant faith.

It seems that Samau'al served as physician to important person-

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4. Ibn al-Qifṭī (died 646/1249) in his Ta'rīkh al ḥukamā' (ed. Lippert, Leipzig, 1903, p. 209) devotes a note to Samau'al's life and works. It seemed to him that Samau'al was born in Spain whence he migrated with his father to the East. He mentions that the conversion was successful (wa-aslama fa-ḥasuna ʾislāmuhu). He knew of a clash between Samau'al and Ibn al-Khashshāb (*GAL* S v. I 493 f.), a Muslim savant, on mathematical problems.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (died 668/1269-70) follows suit in his 'Uyūn al-'anbā' (ed. A. Mueller, Cairo, 1884, v. II, p. 30 f.). His note is based on one by Muwaffaq al-Din 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Yūsuf al-Baghdādī as well as on Ibn al-Qifṭī. 'Abd al-Laṭīf (died 629/1231, *GAL* S v. I, p. 880) is full of praise for Samau'al's attainments.

Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286' in his Ta'rīkh Mukhtaṣar al-duwal [ed. A. Salihani, Beirut, 1890, p. 377] merely reproduces the earlier authors.

Al-Ṣafadī (died 1363) in his *Wāfī* (Ms Bodl., cf F. Rosenthal in *Osiris* v. IX, 1950, p. 560 n. 21) repeats the earlier data but also mentions that he saw a reference to an autograph of Samau'al's listing of eighty-five works.

5. F. Rosenthal in *Osiris* IX 1950 p. 561, characterizes one of the works—against astrologers—as "an unusually vigorous and well-documented exposition of the idea of progress in scholarship, as exemplified in the field of mathematics." He suggests: "The fact that Samau'al grew up as a Jew, in the cultural milieu of a minority group, appears to have been responsible for his intellectual outlook. It made him receptive for problems which most of those educated in the Muslim majority civilization would, as a rule, consider unimportant and take for granted . . . He somehow became afraid of his own boldness . . ."

Recently an analysis of Samau'al's mathematical work Al-Bāhir fī-l-Ḥisāb showed that the author *mérite d'être placé au tout premier rang des algebristes arabes.* This work is also valuable because it preserved various points of earlier authors. Where Pythagoras claims discovery by revelation, says Samau'al, he (Samau'al) claims to proceed by a method which is devoid of the doubtful element and is original to boot. He mentions that his own writings are so numerous that he cannot list them all. Cf. the study by Adil Ambuba in *Al-Mashriq* 1961.

6. See note B96.

7. Cf. H. Schirmann's work on Hebrew poetry in Spain and Provence, v. I. (Jerusalem, 1954) 624-28, and v. II (1956) 687 f.

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ages.[8] He practiced in Iraq, Syria, Kurdistan, and Adharbayjan. At the time of his conversion to Islam he lived in Marāgha, where he was physician to local dignitaries and on friendly terms with prominent personages. He mentions no contacts with Jews or with their communal life. His travels and work took him far away from his father for whom he shows affection and respect. Upon learning of his son's conversion, the father speedily set out from Syria to Marāgha, but died in Mosul on his way.

Marāgha[9] was the capital of a principality which was one of the numerous splinter states that arose on the ruins of the Seljuk empire and persisted during the period of the Crusades.[10] It was past the middle of the twelfth century, a stormy time politically, that Samau'al settled there. And it was there, in 558 H/1163, that he embraced the dominant faith, amidst the congratulations of Muslim friends and patrons who rejoiced that the distinguished scholar had finally seen the light of the true faith.[11] That same night he began to pen his refutation of Judaism: "Silencing the Jews" (Ifḥām al-Yahūd). He tried to show that he was justified in abandoning Judaism, and that the Jews were benighted, unreasonable, ignorant, and inconsistent. At least one retort — with Samau'al's rebuttal — has been preserved.[12] Four years later a new edition[13] was shaped. Here Samau'al adds: (1) the story of his visions in which he talked to his namesake, the Prophet Samuel, and to the Prophet Muhammad; (2) an explanation why he had not made the visions public earlier; (3) an autobiographic outline.[14]

Samau'al is rather unpleasantly boastful about his mother's family, about providential guidance towards the light since his very

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8. Thus he served and/or wrote for the princes of Marāgha (of the Pahlawan house), the rulers of Ḥisn Kayfā (Ortokids), and a Baghdād wazīr Mu'ayyad al-dīn abū Ismā'il. Cf. Goitein in *HUCA* v. 34 (1963): Geniza data on the medical profession.

9. Le Strange *Lands* 164 f.; *EI* s. v. and s. v. Ildegiz, Pehlewan; A. Godard, Notes in *Athār-e Iran I* (Haarlem, 1936); Lane Poole *Dynasties* 171. The history of the local dynasties of the region and of the town is not very clear. The Ahmadīl house ruled for over a century 505-624, H.

Cf. *E. I.* 2 ed. s.v. Ahmadili; R. Guseinov, *Siriiskie istochniki XII-XIII vv. ob Azerbaidzhane* (Baku, 1960) pp. 119-126.

10. This was the time when to the West, in Syria-Egypt, the star of Saladin was beginning to rise.

11. Cf. below in the autobiography.

12. This is the sarcastic anonymous epistle addressed to Samau'al. Cf. below.

13. In 562/1167.

14. On the autobiography cf. F. Rosenthal, *Arab. Autobiographie* 27 f. (*Analecta Orientalia* XIV, Rome, 1937).

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birth, and about his achievements in study, medical work, and literary activity.

Of his later years nothing can be learned. He died in 570 H.[15] It seems that his progeny also practiced medicine.

The Book

The "Silencing" in its present form is a pamphlet of some fifteen thousand words, consisting of a) the anti-Jewish treatise, b) the author's autobiography. The latter is something of an anti-Jewish treatise in its own right. The whole work is, then, a piece of medieval polemics directed on behalf of Islam against Jews and Judaism. With his usual self-admiration, the author indicates that since previous polemic treatises by distinguished Muslim authors are inadequate, he has decided to use his "inside knowledge" of Jewish scriptures and affairs to assist the community of the believers in its disputations with the Jews.

The Background

The polemic literature of Islam is directed, for the most part, against the far more numerous and powerful Christians; the Jews are considered only in passing. Still, from time to time, specifically anti-Jewish polemic tracts have appeared, and it is not surprising to find that it was the Jewish converts to Islam who produced them, supplying the font of information and argumentation against Judaism.[16] Christian converts to Islam also served as a quarry of Islamic polemics againt both scripturary faiths. Indeed, Christian views and attitudes concerning Jews, brought along by the ever-growing mass of Christian converts to Islam, could not fail to percolate into Islam.[17]

15. Ibn al-Qiftī gives the date of death as close to 570 H., Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a and Ṣafadī as 576. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a mentions that Samau'al died young (*māta shābban*). This probably means: under the age of fifty. Samau'al's lifetime may be presumed to have been about 520-570H/1126-1175.

The name *Al-Maghribi* occurs in Adharbayjan as a name of physicians and scholars at a later period.

16. It is sufficient to glance through the list of polemic tracts in Steinschneider's *Polem-Lit.* (1877) p. 110 sq. (which of course could be supplemented now) to see the prevalence of polemics between Christians and Muslims, and the impact of converts.

Cf. E. Fritsch *Islam und Christentum im Mittelalter* (Breslau, 1930).

17. By the middle of the ninth century, a Nestorian had written against Jews and was followed by a flow of Christian polemics that dealt with Islam but did not mince words about the Jews. Cf. *SPL* 45, 416.

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The Koran,[18] of course, became a mine of anti-Jewish passages. The Ḥadīth did not lag behind.[19] Popular preachers used and embellished such material.[20] Scholars, commentators of the Koran, and historians sought elucidation of references to the Jews of times past.

Passages from the Old and the New Testament became the stock-in-trade of the disputants. If the scriptures are divinely inspired, the Muslims reasoned, they must contain references to the advent of Muhammad and Islam. If they do — why do not the scripturaries see and understand them; if they do not — they must have been either wholly or partially distorted, forged, or tampered with (*tabdīl, taḥrīf*). Besides, the scripturaries possibly do not know the right interpretation (*ta'wīl*). The scriptures still may contain allusions to Islam and the Prophet (*aʿlām*). Muslims held that scriptures, laws, and dispensations can by divine command be changed, discarded, substituted for earlier ones, or entirely abrogated (*naskh*). Attempts at solution of the problem along with questions of exegesis, history, theology — and logical consistency — resulted in an imbroglio. Rationalists were quick to ridicule the fervour of the theologians of all three faiths.[21]

Jewish schismatics, especially the Karaites of the 8—10th centuries, subjected various Jewish institutions, especially post-biblical lore,[22] to criticism, and this was partially known to Muslims.

In their attempt to adjust themselves to the intellectual ferment in the Islamic world and to its influence, the Jews had to produce refutations of early anti-Jewish references and disputations. Such

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18. T. Andrae in *Der Ursprung* (p. 198 f.) draws attention to the Christian origin of many of the arguments in the anti-Jewish polemic of the Prophet.

19. G. Vajda in *JA* 1937.

20. M. Perlmann in *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume* (New York, 1953) and in *JQR* 1954.

21. The atmosphere can be felt in Khayyāṭ's K. al-Intiṣār or in Rāzī's utterances published by P. Kraus in *RSO* 1935. Cf. al-Ma'arrī's (ob. 1058) views, ap, R. A. Nicholson *Studies in Islamic Poetry* (Camridge, 1921) pp. 144ff, 160ff, 173ff. Cf. Goldziher in *REJ* 47, p. 43f. and *ZDMG* 62, Baron V, 82-6, 103-8, Mann in HUCA v. 12/13, also Cf. Judah Rosenthal's study (Phila., 1949).

More recent are the following studies: G. Vajda in *REJ* 106 p. 100 sq.; M. Zucker's volume on Saadia's translation and exegesis (Hebrew; New York, 1959); the papers by F. Gabrieli and L. Gardet in the volume *L'élaboration de l'Islam* (Paris, 1957); Jul. Guttmann, On the sources of Hiwi, in the Alexander Marx Festschrift (New York, 1950); H. S. Nyberg's study in *Classicisme et déclin culturel dans l'histoire de l'Islam* (Paris, 1957).

22. Cf. L. Nemoy, *Karaite Anthology* (New Haven, 1952).

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refutation of Islamic arguments is still found in the tenth century works of Saadia Gaon and the Karaite, al-Qirqisānī.[23]

Special attention was paid to polemics against the Jews by the great Spanish man of letters, Ibn Ḥazm,[24] who devotes over a hundred pages solely to routing Jewish positions: criticizing biblical and talmudic lore; denouncing detestable Jewish traits; and inveighing against the rise of Jewish dignitaries and the employment of Jewish officials in Islamic states. He mentions discussions and disputes between Muslims and Jews; Jewish attempts to take the offensive in them; the wavering position of many Muslims in evaluating Jewish and Christian scriptures and their claim to authenticity. He is eager to point out the contradictions, illogical statements, wrong calculations, geographical and historical misstatements, and above all, inappropriate utterances about God and the prophets, especially anthropomorphisms (*tajsīm*) that occur in the scriptures. Questions are posed on authorship, time, manner, and purpose of composition of the biblical books. This important work, however, may have had only limited circulation on account of the author's precarious reputation in Muslim scholarly circles resulting from his intransigence in adhering to unpopular theological views.[25]

Samau'al, over a century later at another end of the Islamic world, wrote his compendium of polemics against the Jews after reading some of the earlier literature on the subject.

The Polemicist

Thus the earliest *preserved* Muslim *compendium* of polemics directed specifically against the Jews and their faith was produced by the Jewish convert to Islam, Samau'al. The "Silencing" contains the following sections (*faṣl*): 1) opening; 2) abrogation; 3) transmission; 4) cf. 2; 5) Jesus and Muhammad; 6) the claim to being the chosen people; 7) the Bible; 8) composition of the Bible; 9) Jews

23. Saadia's *Amanāt* (ed. S. Landauer, Leiden, 1881) was translated by S. Rosenblatt (New Haven, 1948). Qirqisani's work was published by L. Nemoy (New York, 1939-43). The chapter on Islam (v. II p. 292 sq.) had been published by I. Friedlaender in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* v. XXVI.

24. K. al-Fisal; M. Asin Palacios *Abenházam,* especially v. II (Madrid, 1928); *The Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam,* s.v.; M. Perlmann in *PAAJR* XVIII [1949]. R. Brunschwig in *Homenaje a Millas-Vallicrosa* v. I. (Barcelona, 1954) analyses a fine section on Judaism in the tenth century Bāqillānī's *Tamhīd.*

25. J. Goldziher in *ZDMG* 66 p. 166. J. Friedlaender in *Orientalische Studien* (Noeldeke *Festschrift* I 1906), p. 268.

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on Islam; 10) objectionable aspects of Jewish law; levirate, segregation; 11) Rabbanites and Karaites; 12) epilogue: sins and follies of the Jews. The "Silencing" thus attempts to invalidate the views of the Jews and to deride their practices as sheer folly.

The faith of the Jews is based on their concept of the scriptures, of the scriptures' reliability as a record of the past and their validity for the future. The critique of transmission is to demonstrate that the first premise is a fallacy; the theory of abrogation is to undermine the second premise. Now the deck has been cleared for the attack on the Jews' practice: clinging to their false position on the scriptures, they entertain wrong notions about Jesus and Muhammad; they falsely claim to be God's own people; and their ritual and law contain degrading and absurd practices and norms. But the author apparently thinks it is his task to go beyond denunciation and to explain the source and origin of the wrong theory and wrong practice, to go on from symptoms to diagnosis and etiology. The reader therefore is offered an explanation as to the true origin of the Torah and the implied basis of the Jews' behaviour. The Torah is a compilation by Ezra, the Aaronid. The priests had a vested interest in maintaining the rule of the Torah, and through it their own rule in the Second Commonwealth, to the exclusion of the Davidic House. That is why the latter is tainted and denigrated in the scriptures. The Jews' behaviour is moulded by 1) an internal factor — the rabbis who seek to preserve the Jewish community by segregation from, and animosity toward, non-Jews, and 2) an external factor — the Gentiles' attitude toward the Jews, and the position of the Jews, a people scattered in exile among the Gentiles. The Jews are thus exposed to oppression and persecution from without, and to fraudulent misleading from within.

Thus the discussion of the "Jewish question" is put, rather unexpectedly, in terms of ingenious historical and social observations.

Physician that he is, Samau'al passes on from diagnosis to therapeutics. Evidently, conversion to Islam is prescribed. However, the call to the mosque is not as simple as it might appear at first.

Judaism is proved to be without foundation. But why conversion to Islam? It would have been too glaring a *non sequitur* to turn to the faith of the dominant majority without an enquiry into its tenets and precepts. It is at this point that a different aspect of Samau'al becomes prominent.

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Samau'al poses as the rationalist. Reason is the supreme arbiter between proofs and arguments concerning facts, men, faiths. As there are various faiths, it is for Reason to decide which is the right one. To the extent that a faith is based on alleged reports of past events and on the transmission of such reports—and the three monotheistic faiths all depend on such—it is for Reason to test the reports. Again and again Samau'al harps on pure logic as the spring of his conversion. True, he has had visions that urged him to take the final step. But actually, he insists, he had known all the arguments for conversion before embracing Islam. To his patron who launches him in the community of true believers he does not mention the visions. For four years he suppresses any mention of them, not only for fear of ridicule, but mainly because he wants people to understand that it is a set of syllogisms and deductions that leads him to Islam.

Logic will show that the three faiths and their respective founders, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad, may have equally valid claims to recognition, in which case — this conclusion is *not* drawn — Islam might be the most inclusive faith (holding in esteem the founders of Judaism and Christianity) just as Judaism is the most exclusive (as it rejects the claims of both Christianity and Islam).

Samau'al stumbles, however, against another logical possibility. Why must one choose one of the three faiths? Why prophethood and religion at all? Neither can be logically demonstrated, or proved. In a most revealing passage, Samau'al hastens to get away from the unwholesome discussion of the skeptic position by remarking that the prophets and religions — all of them — taught the good life and contributed to social welfare, maintenance of institutions and of the polity.[26]

Samau'al, beginning with proud reason, ends with pragmatic opportunism: accommodation to existing society and to prevailing religious attitudes. A man of the world, of the Islamic world, he seeks "to belong" fully. He is proud of its achievements, and has no patience with the petty particularism of what is to him an ossified minority, a remnant of an older and obsolete civilization.

Thus there is a second basic aspect in Samau'al's tract with its

26. Cf. F. Rahman, *Ptophecy in Islam* (London, 1958) p. 40 f., 59 ff.

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wavering: on the one hand unfettered Reason, doubt as to the validity of faith; on the other hand, the logically equal validity of all faiths, the social value of religion; and finally, accommodation to the convenience of the leading surrounding civilization. It demonstrates the gravitation of the marginal man to the focal points of his social environment.

There is hardly anything new here, either in the polemics or in the rationalistic attitude. Elements of both can be traced to earlier sources, and must have been absorbed by our author in his reading and discussion. However, no direct source or major influence can be discerned. The author does not name any of his predecessors in the field, though he does mention them in a general way. It would be of particular interest to determine whether he knew the work of Ibn Ḥazm who had written a century earlier and with whom he shows much affinity. However, it would rather appear that both used common sources independently. Sets of biblical passages to confound the Jews and/or indicating the advent of Islam, a critique of the oral law, a search for rational interpretation of ancient precepts along with rationalist queries — all these had a wide circulation. A number of them can be traced in the monotheistic communities and their sects, as well as among Zoroastrians and Manicheans. The same interreligious discussion that on the one hand contributed to partisanship, zeal, fanaticism, and bigotry, did, on the other hand, in some minds pave the way toward recognizing the weakness of the disputants' claims, the dependence of their views upon certain historical and social circumstances, and the relative good in various systems. The result was the notion of "equal validity" of proofs, arguments, and the rise of a mood of indifferentism (of both mystic and skeptic) and tolerance.[27]

Samau'al shows the influence of this trend, but was unable to follow it consistently. He combines relativism with intolerance against the Jews and their tenets, avoiding and ignoring the possible critique of the dominant faith he is championing.

It is strange that he shows no acquaintance with the literature of Islamic theology and philosophy. His only reference is to the rationalist preface to Kalīla wa-Dimna. This is much as if somebody in our day were writing on religion or social problems on the basis of a Shavian preface or a novel by Sinclair Lewis.[28]

27. M. Perlmann in *JQR* 1950.

28. Samau'als reference is to the epistle of Bardhawayh the physician. Cf. E. I. s.v.

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It stands to reason that our author was acquainted with the philosophical literature but was not eager to betray that knowledge in a tract designed to commend him to pious readers who regard philosophy as the path to godlessness.[29]

What Samau'al has to say on the "Jewish question" is possibly a reflection of the thought of such Jewish intellectuals as were not inclined, or able, or trained, to follow the path of the philosophers from Saadia to Maimonides (whose older contemporary Samau'al was) in their cogitations on the destiny of the Jewish people, and on a rationale for its continued existence.

Impact

The *Vita* mentions the success of the *Silencing* and the dissemination of copies in several countries. This seems plausible.

Later polemic literature of Islam usually shows the direct or indirect influence of the *Silencing*. An important work of this type was Qarāfī's (d. 684/1285) al-Ajwiba-l-fākhira, with numerous excerpts from the *Silencing*. Indeed a ms. in the British Museum of Qarāfī's tract has (the copyist's?) marginal remark: "most of this discourse is from the *Silencing* by Samau'al."

Likewise, Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziya (XIV century) leans heavily on the *Silencing* both in his Hidāyat al-ḥayārā, and in the work Ighāthat al-lahfān min maṣā'id ash-shayṭān. The quotations in the latter are very extensive.[30]

Through these works the influence of Samau'al must have spread even further.

When, a hundred years after Samau'al, the Baghdad Jewish physician-philosopher Sa^{c}d b. Manṣūr b. Kammūna, wrote his *Critical Inquiry into the Three Faiths,* he used Samau'al's tract as the most representative and typical summary of Muslim polemics directed against Jews, and quoted Samau'al's arguments against the Jews. A rebuff by a Muslim author again draws upon Samau'al.[31]

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29. Cf. I. Goldziher *Stellung der alten islamischen Orthodoxie zu den antiken Wissenschaften* (*Abh.*, Berlin, 1916); H. S. Nyberg in *Classicisme*, p. 134 f.

30. M. Perlmann in the *Journal of Jewish Bibliography* (New York, 1942) and in *Studi orientalistici in onore di G. Levi della Vida*, v. II (Rome, 1956).

31. Ibn Kammūna's book is known from quotations in Steinschneider's *Pol. Lit.* and in L. Hirschfeld, *Sa'd b. Mansūr Ibn Kammūna* etc. (Berlin, 1893); cf. analysis by D. H. Baneth in *MGWJ* 1925.

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In Jewish sources, Samau'al is mentioned a few times with opprobrium toward the renegade. Presumably he is mentioned by Alharizi (d. ca. 1225).[32] The chronicler Yosef Sambari (17 c.) has a rhymed prose remark about him: "He compiled the book "Silencing," black as coal, and claimed to have compiled a book for the faith of Ishmael, and God separated him for evil from all the tribes of Israel. He made many copies of this book which he distributed to king and dignitaries in order to find favour with his new coreligionists."[33]

We should also mention an Arabic tract translated into Latin, and from Latin into many Western languages, which has been erroneously connected with Samau'al (*Epistola Samuelis Marrocani ad R. Isaacum contra errores Judaeorum*).[34]

Text and Edition

The oldest known text of the *Silencing* is the Tehran ms. which claims to be a copy of a ms. in Samau'al's handwriting, and is dated 685/1286.

Only the tract appears here, not the autobiography. Instead, the tract is followed by an exchange of epistles: one sent to Samau'al after his conversion, and containing an obviously malicious and ironical query about his conversion; the other — the rebuttal by Samau'al. A copy of this exchange exists in Istanbul also.

The Tehran text differs substantially from that extant in all the other copies: some passages appear in a different order; whole pages of the other texts do not appear here at all. Thus the earliest available text gives a version different from that of all the other texts.

There is a further detail peculiar to this version: the Hebrew quotations, which appear in all the other texts in Arabic transliteration and translation, appear here in Hebrew characters as well (in an attempt to reproduce the Hebrew script of the original ms. from which the Tehran ms. was copied). Where it differs from the other

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32. In the third maqama.

D. Kaufmann tried to connect the *Silencing* with Abr. b. Daud's *Emuna Rama* (*REJ* v. X) but there is no reason to believe that this thesis is valid.

33. Published by Neubauer *REJ* v. V.

34. Cf. A. L. Williams *Adversus Judaeos* (Cambridge, 1935) p. 228 sq. The Latin tract claims to be a translation of an Arabic tract written by a Jewish convert to *Christianity*.

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texts, the Tehran ms. shows greater simplicity of exposition and structure. All these data entitle us to put it into a category by itself.[35]

Presumably, we have here a copy of an *original* text written before the *Vita* was penned in 562 H., i.e. in the years 558-562 H. The preservation of the epistles points in the same direction. The epistles presumably explain why Samau'al was forced to write his *Vita,* to persist in his claim that pure logic and mere consistency of meditation had led him to Islam; and that only the *timing* of his conversion was to be explained by the inspired visions he had had in 558, which visions he had not seen fit to report during 558-562 H.

The Hebrew characters were too strange to the Muslim copyists and were later dropped, possibly by the author himself. There is no doubt that all the other texts follow another version, the *later* expanded version.

This would suggest that over a number of years the author, while dictating his tract to copyists (as he himself mentions in the *Vita*), polished up the original text, adducing new arguments. Not only the author's meticulousness, but the necessity to rebuff his opponents, whose interest was aroused by the discussions following the appearance of the tract, made Samau'al introduce changes in the original text; whether this was done by stages, resulting in the later version, or in a single revision of the original tract, there was some disruption of the original order and sequence. The revised version was probably prepared along with the autobiography, in which case it can be dated 562/1166-7.

Chronologically, the next ms. is that of Cairo, dated 732/1332.[36] It includes the later (longer) version and the Vita. Its contemporary is the incomplete Paris ms. (735/1334-5) containing a portion of the *Silencing* and the complete *Vita.*[37]

35. Cat. (Ettesami) of the Majlis Library I 184; II 593. The epistles to and by Samau'al appear here and in the ms. Fatih 3141, Istanbul.

36. Catalogue v. VI. A copy of this manuscript was made for S. Friedmann who put it at the disposal of M. Steinschneider and with the latter's library it later came into the possession of the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, in New York. S. Friedmann was the Christian scion of a family of Jewish extraction, and devoted much energy to a search for territory for the settlement of Jewish refugees, his best-known project being that of colonizing Midian. He wrote to Steinschneider:

> möge der *Ifham* . . . ihnen so wenig den Mund stopfen, als er es bisher den anderen Juden gethan.

Cf. Steinschneider in *ZfHB* 1897, p. 189 f. On Friedmann cf. N. M. Gelber in Shibat Ṣiyyon v. II-III, Jerusalem, 1953; J. M. Landau ib. v. I and in *Rassegna Israelitica* of Nov. 1963; J. Fraenkel in *Herzl Year Book* v. IV (New York, 1962).

37. G. Vajda, *Index General* etc. (Paris, 1953) pp. 207; 250.

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An Istanbul ms. follows with the date 861/1456.[38] In the Berlin ms. copied in Damascus as recently as 1329/1911 the *Vita* does not appear.[39] Slightly earlier (1328/1899) is a copy made at Jaffa, in which the end of the *Vita* is missing.[40] From Cairo and Istanbul come also undated mss.[41]

S. Munk was the first to use the tract in scholarly discussion but he had to use the incomplete Paris ms.[42] When Steinschneider wrote his book on polemic literature, no other text was yet known.[43] In 1898, Martin Schreiner used Steinschneider's recently acquired copy for a fine study and printed about one-third of the text and translated even more. In 1358/1939 an Azhar scholar, Muhammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqqī, published in Cairo the text of the Jaffa ms., with a Jew-baiting introduction. The *Vita* is here printed before the tract; elsewhere it follows the tract.[44] Yosef Sambari, too, mentions that Sa-

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The *Al-Ajwiba-l-Fākhira* that precedes the incomplete text of Samau'al in the Paris ms. is by the thirteenth century al-Qarāfi.

The Ifḥam fragment is in a Maghribi hand, on twenty pages of twenty-three to twenty-five lines to a page.

Qarāfī's treatise and Ibn Qayyim's Hidāya were printed on the margin of K. al-fāriq bayn al-makhlūq wa-l-khāliq (Cairo 1905) by ᶜAbdurrahmān Bāchachīzāda. The Hidaya appeared also separately.

38. Ashir 545. 110 pages of clear *naskhī*, thirteen lines to the page. Six pages are missing: the end of the tract and the beginning of the autobiography.

The opening contains some marginal notes on biblical matters, unrelated to the tract, and a note indicates they are in the handwriting of al-Biqāʿī (*GAL*, S II, p. 177 f.) who died in 885/1480.

39. For information leading to the location of this ms. I am obliged to Prof. Franz Rosenthal.

Its number is Or 1927-555. Ms Or. oct 2686 in the Westdeutsche Bibliothek (former Preussische Staatsbibliothek). This is a ms in a beautiful handwriting, on 138 pages, eleven lines to a page. The copyist identifies the author as the pre-Islamic poet Samau'al b. 'Adiya.

40. This ms was published. Cf. n. 44.

41. Cairo Cat. Kalam 1965; Istanbul, Reisulkuttab 586. The last mentioned ms was pointed out by Prof. Fuat Sezgin, Istanbul, correcting a mistake in *GAL*. He was kind enough to supply a microfilm of the ms.

42. In *JA* 1842.

43. But he had discussed at length the author and his works in the Catalogue of the Hebrew Books of the Bodleian, and later returned to the subject in his work on the Arabic literature of the Jews. The next mentioned study, by Martin Schreiner, appeared in *MGWJ* in 1898 and pp. 521 f. for 1899.

44. Badhl al-majhūd fī ifḥām al-yahūd, Cairo, 1358/1939.

The pamphlet contains in its first twenty-five pages: the editor's introduction (2-8), Samau'al's biography from Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (9-11), a note on the ms basis (11), the autobiography (12-24; iẓhār islām al-mu'allif). Then a new pagination runs for 79 pages of which 1-64 give the text of the Ifham. The rest reproduces Al-Risāla al-Sabīʿiya bi-Ibṭāl al-Diyāna al-Yahūdīyā by Isra'il b. Shamu'il al-Urushlimi, a nineteenth century tract, described by A. E. Schmidt in *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov*, v. V (1930).

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mau'al "prefaced his book with a pamphlet which he entitled 'book of the vision' and gave in it the reason for his conversion."

The following pages include the text and a translation of the complete long version, as well as new material, such as the variants of the shorter version (T) and the exchange of epistles between Samau'al and his critic. The Hebrew quotations are reproduced here in Hebrew characters mostly. Scribes ignorant of Hebrew so greatly and variously distorted Samau'al's original transliteration (which might have indicated the pronunciation of Hebrew in his circle) that it would be sheer waste of space and effort to use a transliteration which would have to be more or less arbitrary (in conveying the vowels).[45]

Variations in the wording of eulogies and some simple copyists' mistakes or slight changes of word order are disregarded.

On the whole the Cairo ms. is the basis of the edition of the longer version.

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45. Schreiner devotes a section of his study to this point. He had written previously on the pronunciation of Hebrew (*ZATW* v. VI).

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Comparison of the Tehran manuscript with the later version (Cairo).

Elements		C	T
A. Iḥām		Fuller text	1) Shorter by 1/3: 4b-7a and 18a-22b not included Other passages missing, added, or in different order; Numerous differences in wording.
		Introduces translations with *tafsīruhu*	2) *ta'wīluhu* (shi'ite influence?)
		Hebrew passages in Arabic transliteration	3) Hebrew passages in Hebrew characters *plus* Arabic transliteration.
B. Autobiography		Included	Not included
C. The Epistles		Not included	Included.
		Of the substantial divergences, the following may be mentioned:	
Page	Arabic	English	Differences in T.
2b	note 2	#1	Omits last clause of #1, skips to end of #2.
3a	note 14	#4 "how do you know"	continues: His answer must be either "because my father so informed me," or "because traditional transmission ascertained it."
4a	note 9	#2	Continues as follows: Another way to silence them. They assert that the transmission of the faiths' testimony for the prophethood of Moses is stronger than the transmission of their testimonies for the prophethood of Muhammad and Jesus. For all the faiths bear testimony for Moses. The answer thereto is that they be questioned concerning the unanimity of testimony — is it true evidence in their opinion. (Cf. 6b-7a; this is followed by 7a to the beginning of the new section but instead of the ministry of Jesus the testimonies for the prophethood of Muhammad are taken up. Cf. 7b-8a).
8a	note 21	End of page	Should they say: This passage is like other Torah passages whose characters, if taken as figures, would amount to the sum total of some other name, not that of Muhammad . . . The answer is: In no other verse of the Torah was there an announcement to Abraham.

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8b	note 13	#1	Concerning Ishmael, except in this verse. This verse then is not at all like other verses of the Torah. And in this verse it is just this word of the Creator that is a hyperbole, that is the word 'greatly' as it indicates the greatness of the cause of Ishmael. Now if this verse is without equal in the Torah, and this word without equal in this verse, then it is only correct to say that the word has no equal in the (whole) Torah in being indicative of the prophethood of Muhammad who is the most excellent progeny of Ishmael. Section defining a passage in the Torah that indicates the prophethood of (all) the three and their equality by reference to (all) of them.
			In the last portion with which the Torah closes, they have the following verse . . . .
10a	note 13-16	#3	Different order of the verses quoted.
12a	note 11	#3	The Book of Samuel is mentioned as the source of the quotation (also in the ms. in the Reiselkuttab collection).
13a	note 9	#2 Before the sentence "Ezra saw" etc.	Note B45 (on the priests).
13b	note 5	#2 line 6 "for 7 days"	Cf. note B45.
14b	note 1	#2, line 6	The Greeks also for a long time were preventing them from praying.
16a	note 4	#1	Last sentence omitted.
			Continues with last paragraph (on Tamar).
			Story of Lot is followed by that of Tamar.
			The piece on Ezra versus the House of David is missing.
17a	note 8		Order: §1, last paragraph and its continuation on 17b. Then follows a passage on the position of Jews under Islamic rule, cf. note B66.
			Follows §2 with this addition:
			Thus it follows that in the Torah there are abrogating and abrogated passages. This is what we wanted to make clear.
			This is followed by the Epilogue.

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[1b] In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. May God pray over our master Muhammad.

To proceed. Praise to God for inspired guidance and protection from error; prayer over Muhammad, the seal of the prophets, and his pure family.

It is the way of a man who has been graced with understanding and guidance in the right course to exert himself to inquire into the circumstances of the life to come, and to consider with an examining and critical eye what he has inherited from his father and forefathers. If he considers that legacy to be a virtue, he will strive to master it; but if he finds it a vice, he will flee its entanglements in order to ensure that his life be well stocked with meritorious deeds,[1a] for verily, death unseen is in waiting. Not happy will be the end for him who is slow to fortify his religion, and who spends his time in following his natural inclinations. Only strenuous seekers after the truth will succeed in their quest, and only those with perverted souls will permit fables to befuddle them.[1]

The ultimate purpose in writing this work is to refute that obstinate and stubborn people, and to reveal with what corruption their tenets are beset. It is true that, before my time, leading authorities—may their reward be augmented — applied themselves to this matter and pursued several lines of polemics with the Jews, but the latter hardly understood most of the controversy, nor found it convincing. By using scriptural passages current among the Jews, this book clears the way to silencing them. God made the Jews blind when they tampered with the text; so that these same passages, possessed by the Jews, might thus serve as evidence against the Jews.

Forcing them to admit abrogation

Here is the first point with which I begin to compel them to accept abrogation [*naskh*][2] on the basis of the wording of their scripture and in accordance with their own methods.[B1]

We say to them: was there a Divine Law [*shar*ᶜ] before the reve-

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1a. Literally: his coffers become well stocked with provision. In the Koran, 89, v. 13 God "lies in ambush."

1. This opening paragraph is in rhymed prose.

2. Of the Bible by the Koran, of Judaism by Islam.

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lation of the Torah, or was there not? If they answer in the negative, they deny what the second portion of the first book of the Torah spells out: that God legislated unto Noah — upon whom be peace — retaliation for murder. It says:[3]

שפך דם האדם באדם דמו ישפך כי בצלם אלהים עשה את האדם

[2a] which means: *Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in a noble image made He man.*[B2]

A further testimony is to be found in the third portion of the first book of the Torah. Here God legislated unto Abraham circumcision of the newly-born male child to be performed on the eighth day after birth.[4]

These — and other such matters — are precepts, for divine law consists either of positive command or of negative injunction by God to His worshippers, whether it be by mouth of the prophet, or by writing on scrolls or tablets, etc.

But if they do admit that there was some Divine Law, we say:

What say you about the Torah, did it or did it not add something to those earlier precepts? If it did not add anything it is meaningless, since it contains nothing beyond the earlier legislation and is of no import. Hence, it cannot be of divine origin. But this, in your religion, would be tantamount to unbelief. Again, if the Torah did contain something additional, did or did not that addition prohibit what had formerly been permissible? Should they deny this, their thesis is rendered worthless on two counts. Firstly, the Torah forbade any manner of work on the Sabbath, which previously had been lawful.[5] This in itself is indeed a case of abrogation. Secondly, in law, any addition has no other purpose than to prohibit what has previously been permitted, or to permit what has previously been forbidden.

If they say that the wise one[5a] does not prohibit a thing, later to permit it, because by so doing he would be like someone who commands a thing and its very opposite, the answer is that one who commands a thing and its opposite at two different points in time does not contradict himself in his command; though he would be self-contradictory if the two commands were simultaneous.[B3]

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3. Gen. 9:6
4. Gen. 17:10-14.
5. Ex. 20:8-11.
5a. i.e., God.

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They may say that the Torah prohibited what had formerly been permissible but did not permit what had been unlawful, and that objectionable abrogation [naskh makrūh] consists in rendering the prohibited lawful — for if one has been permitted a thing but abstains from it considering it unlawful unto himself, he is not a violator; rather he is the violator who has been enjoined to abstain from something, yet practices it, permitting unto himself that which has been prohibited.[B4]

The answer to this is: [2b] He who declares as lawful that which the law has prohibited is in the same category as he who prohibits what the law has declared lawful. For each of them has contravened the stipulations of the law and misinterpreted its wording. If it is possible that the law of the Torah should proscribe that which has been considered lawful by Abraham and others before him, then it is possible that still another law should declare lawful that which has been forbidden in the Torah.

Furthermore, prohibitions can either be imposed for all time, God being displeased with the forbidden thing *per se*; or not displeased with it *per se*, He may forbid that thing for a certain time. Now if God forbids working on the Sabbath, it follows that this prohibition was in force also for Abraham, Noah, and Adam; for essentially there was Sabbath in their time, too, and Sabbath was the reason for prohibition. But if working on the Sabbath was not prohibited to Abraham and his predecessors, then the prohibition was not *per se*, i.e., not for all the time that the Sabbath, as such, existed. Consequently, the Jews have to conclude that the prohibition of work on the Sabbath was not for all time and that it is not impossible that this prohibition could be abrogated at another time. If a bearer of apostolic miracles and signs of prophethood should arise later, after a long interval, he might bring the message of the abrogation of many stipulations of the law, whether by proscribing what it has hitherto considered lawful or by permitting things hitherto prohibited.

If a man has presented clear proof [of his mission] how can objections be raised concerning his commands and injunctions, irrespective of whether they do or do not agree with human understanding? And especially so when his opponents have for a long time worshiped under precepts as contrary to reason as those of cleansing their impurities with ashes of the heifer burned by the Aaronid priest

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on the eve of the holiday [ḥajj],[6] and the defiling of the pure one with these very ashes? Whilst what is claimed as revelation unto this man[7] is far more reasonable.

Certainly, divine aets and commands are exalted far above the limitations of human minds. But inasmuch as religious [3a] ritual acts neither benefit God Almighty nor protect Him from harm, for He is beyond imperfection, or benefit, or harm, what would render impossible or prevent His prescribing a law for one people and proscribing it for another; forbidding something unto a people, only to declare it lawful for their children, and even forbid it again for those who come after them?

How can a worshiper oppose God's Messenger who declares lawful that which has been unlawful to a group; how can the worshiper argue that the Apostle is a fraud after the Apostle has produced clear proof, and when reason compels one to accept the Apostle's trustworthiness and authority? Is this not sheer presumptuousness and error -- a deviation from truth?

Silencing the Jews and the Christians with rational proof, and compelling them to accept Islam

A sensible man cannot repudiate one prophet, whose teaching has wide acceptance and whose cause is well established, and believe in another. For he has seen neither of them nor witnessed the miracles of either. If he chooses to believe one and to repudiate the other, then logically he exposes himself to reproof and contempt. Let us take an example.

Thus, if we ask a Jew about Moses — may he rest in peace — that is, whether he, the Jew, has seen Moses and witnessed his miracles, the Jew will necessarily admit that he has seen nothing of the kind himself. We then say to him, "How do you know of the prophethood of Moses and of his veracity?" If the Jew says that traditional transmission [tawātur] confirms this, and that the testimonies of the nations as to its truth furnish strong rational proof, just as the transmission of reports and accounts make us logically certain of the existence of lands and rivers we have not seen, we say, "There is such transmission of tradition concerning Muhammad and Jesus

6. Nu. 19. In Arabic the word means *pilgrimage* but no doubt the Hebrew meaning *holiday* is intended.

7. i.e. Muhammad.

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just as there is for Moses, and so you must believe also in the former two."

If the Jew says, "The testimony of my father about the prophethood of Moses is reason for my affirmation of his prophethood," we say to him, "But why is your father, in your opinion, right in this matter and immune from error?"

Now you see that infidels are also taught by their fathers, taught what you consider unbelief; this being done either out of partisanship for one's faith and reluctance to forsake the community and abandon one's people [3b] and clan, or because the fathers and elders have transmitted the belief to him; and he has accepted it, convinced that therein are guidance and salvation. Now, if you consider all the denominations you repudiate as unbelievers — though their followers have inherited their tenets from their fathers just as you have taken your religion from your father — and if you still consider that what they maintain is error and ignorance, you will be obliged to inquire into what you have taken over from your father lest it prove to be in the same category.

If he says, "What I have taken over from my father is truer than what other people have taken from their fathers," he must produce evidence for the prophethood of Moses beyond mere following in his father's footsteps [taqlīd], for he now claims the truth of that prophethood not by virtue of mere imitation.[B5]

If he asserts that the reason for the truth of what he has been told on the authority of his father is that his father surpasses the fathers of other people in veracity and knowledge — as the Jews will assert concerning their ancestors — he is obliged to produce evidence that his father was more intelligent and virtuous than the ancestors of other peoples. Should he claim this, it is a false claim, since proof of the virtues of anyone of such description must of necessity be adduced from the records of his past. The assertion of the Jews is invalid for, with respect to records of the past on a world scale, they do not have as many as other peoples; rather, in all truth, there is no mention of them among the peoples who developed the exact sciences and systematized them for later generations. All that is ascribed to them in the sciences, including what they borrowed from others, cannot compare with certain of the scholarly disciplines evolved by the Greek wise men, or with the sciences developed by Aramaic-speaking people [Nabaṭ]. As for works by Muslims, they are so numerous that it is impossible for any single human being to

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encompass all that they wrote in any one scientific discipline, so vast and extensive is their literature. If such is the Jews' position among the nations, then their assertion that their fathers were the most intelligent, wise and virtuous of men, is groundless.[B6] Their fathers are equal to the forefathers of other people, who were likewise of the progeny of [4a] Shem the son of Noah—peace upon them both. Now, if they admit the equality of their fathers with the fathers of others — who taught their progeny unbelief — it follows that the testimony of fathers cannot be a proof of the truth of religion. Then they are left with no other argument for the prophethood of Moses than the testimony of the chain of transmission [tawātur]. But there is such transmission for Jesus and Muhammad, just as there is for Moses. If they believe in Moses because of the testimony of transmission about his prophethood, they have to accept as true also the mission of Jesus and of Muhammad — peace upon them.[B7]

Another way to establish abrogation on the basis of their own sources

We say to them: Do you live in accordance with Mosaic law today? If they say 'yes,' we say to them: Is it not said in the Torah that whosoever touches a bone, or steps on a tomb, or is present at the death of a person, will be placed in a state of defilement of which he can rid himself only with the ashes of the heifer which the Aaronid priest used to burn?[8] They cannot deny this, because this is a passage current among them. Further, we say to them: Why then have you stipulated that a person who has touched a bone, tomb, or corpse remains pure and is fit to pray and carry the scripture — though this is contrary to what is in your book?

If they say: Because we lack the means of purification, that is, the ashes of the heifer, or the priest to purify and pray for forgiveness, we say: Do you, then, think, or do you not think that because you are unable to perform this act, you may dispense with it? If they say, 'yes, we may,' they admit that precept has been abrogated by reason of present circumstances. If they say, 'no, we cannot dispense with the purification,' they recognize that they are impure so long as they do not possess the means of purification. We then say to them: If you be unclean in your own view, and according to

8. Nu. 19:11, 16, 17.

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your own sources, why do you continue to shun a woman for seven days after the conclusion of her menstrual period,[9] [4b] and to be so strict about it that should the garment of one of you touch the garment of the woman, you would declare him and his garment unclean? If they say: Because this is a precept of the Torah, we say: Is it not in the Torah that by the precept purity is intended? But if you cannot attain purity, and if your impure state cannot, in your belief, be removed by ablution, as is the impurity of menstruation, then your impurity is stronger than the impurity of menstruation. Furthermore you consider the menstruating woman clean if she be not of your community; you will not declare impure her touch, or the garment that she has touched; you confine this matter of menstrual impurity to your own community.[10] But that is not in the Torah. All of which amounts to abrogation or alteration (*tabdīl*) on your part.[B8]

If they say that this, even though the scriptural text (*naṣṣ*) does not mention it, occurs in their system of law (*fiqh*), we say to them: Now what will you say about your legists? All those various points of dispute and various tenets, numerous as they are among you, are they the fruit of human effort and judgment [ijtihād] and reasoning [istidlāl], or are they tradition itself? They will say: Our legists took over all that is in the books of our jurisprudence from the rabbis who drew upon reliable earlier authorities that go back to Joshua the son of Nun, to Moses who spoke with God [kalīm Allāh],[11] and to God Almighty.[12] Then it follows that in every single problem about which two of your legists disagreed, *each* will sustain his belief in the matter with a tradition going back to God Almighty. Thus, vileness pervades them to such a degree that they ascribe to God contradictory commands on any given problem. This is precisely the kind of abrogation the Jews repudiate.

But if they say that this dissension is of no practical import because the ancient sages, after dissension on a problem, would reach a joint decision, which is the final decision, we say: Their recourse to agreement after dissension is the result either of one of the rabbis giving up his tradition, or of a blemish in his tradition causing his testimony [5a] to be impugned, in which case you should no

9. Lev. 15:19 sq.
10. b. Nidda f. 34.
11. An appellation for Moses on the basis of the Koran 4:162.
12. Cf. Abot I.

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longer give consideration to anything transmitted on his behalf; or else, the legists have agreed to abrogate one of the two opinions, i.e., that the report by one abrogated the report by the other. Yet, there is hardly a legist whose opinions do not get quashed in many matters. This position would be madness for one who does not admit abrogation and who considers the words of the partners to the dispute to be not the result of human judgment and speculation, but rather a pure divinely-inspired tradition.

Another way of forcing them to admit abrogation

We say to them: What do you say about your prayers and fasts? Are they the ones that Moses left with you? If they say 'yes', we say: But did Moses and his people use to say in their prayers as you do:

תקע בשופר גדל לחרותנו ושא נס לקבצנו, וקבצנו יחד מארבע כנפות
הארץ אל נוה קדשך, ברוך אתה ה' מקבץ נדחי עמו ישראל

meaning

O sound a great trumpet for our freedom, [and hoist a banner to collect us] and gather us together from the four corners of the earth to thy holy ground; Blessed art thou, O Lord, who gathereth the scattered ones of his people Israel.[13]

Or did they say in the time of Moses as you do every day:

חשב שופטינו כבראשונה ויועצינו כבתחלה ובנה את ירושלים עיר קדשך
בימינו ונחמנו, ברוך אתה ה' בונה ירושלים.

which means

Restore our judges as aforetime, and our counsellors as at the beginning; and build Jerusalem Thy holy city in our days, and console us [in its rebuilding]. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who rebuildeth Jerusalem.[13]

Or do these passages testify [5b] that you fabricated them after the destruction of the Jewish state?

As to the fast of the burning of the Temple, the fast of its siege, and the fast of Gedalia which you made obligatory, did Moses observe them, or did he or his successor, Joshua b. Nun, enjoin them? Or the fast of the hanging of Haman? Are these enjoined in the Torah, or were they added for reasons that called for such additions in

13. From the *'Amida*.

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the course of centuries? If they say: How does that compel us to accept abrogation, we say: Because the Torah has this verse:[14] *you shall not add to this word which I command you thereof, nor diminish from it.*[B9] Having added precepts, you have abrogated that verse.

לא תוסיפו על הדבר אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם ולא תגרעו ממנו

Another way of establishing the fact of abrogation

We say to them: Is it not in your text that God chose from among the children of Israel the first-born that they may be consecrated for holy service?[15] They will say, 'yes.' We then say to them: Is it not in your text that Moses, when he descended from the mountain with the tablets in his hands and found the people worshipping the calf, stood at the rim of the camp and called: *Whoso is on the Lord's side, let him come unto me.*[16] The sons of Levi, not the first-born, joined him although his appeal, literally addressed to all, had been intended only for the first-born inasmuch as it was they who were the chosen of God at the time, not the children of Levi. So when the first-born deserted him, and the children of Levi assisted him, God said to Moses:[17]

ואקח את הלויים תחת כל בכור בבני ישראל.

which means: *And I have taken the Levites instead of all the first-born among the children of Israel.* Did not God, following the revelation of this verse, dismiss the first-born from the privileged status and take the Levites in their stead? They cannot deny this, and this will compel them to admit either [6a] alteration (badā') of divine determination[18] or abrogation.[B10]

Compelling them to accept the prophethood of Jesus — God's prayer and blessing upon him

We say to them: Is it not in the Torah that you have:[19]

לא יסור שבט מיהודה ומחוקק מבין רגליו

14. Deut. 13:1 *All this word which I command you, that shall ye observe to do, thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it.* Probably quoted from memory.
15. Ex. 13:2.
16. Ex. 32:26.
17. Num. 8:18.
18. "The emergence of new circumstances which cause a change in an earlier divine ruling." (E.I.)
19. Gen. 49:10

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which means: *Kingship shall not depart from the people of Judah nor the staff from amongst them until the Messiah has come.*[B11] They cannot deny that. We then say to them: Do you not know that you once had a state and kingdom up to the advent of Jesus, and that then your kingdom came to an end? If you do not have a kingdom today, it follows from the Torah that the Messiah has already been sent.

We also say to them: Was it not since the mission of Jesus — upon whom be peace — that the kings of Rome ruled over the Jews and Jerusalem, and that the state of the Jews came to an end and the Jews were dispersed? They cannot deny this without becoming absurd. So it follows from their own source, from the Torah, that Jesus the son of Mary is the Messiah they were expecting.[20]

Compelling them to accept his prophethood and the prophethood of Muhammad — peace upon them both [B12]

We say to them: What say you about Jesus the son of Mary? They will say: The son of Joseph the carpenter by fornication; he learned God's great name and with its help used to impose his will upon many things.[21] We say to them: Is is not true that, according to your best tradition, Moses was taught by God the divine name composed of forty-two letters[B13] with which Moses parted the sea and performed the miracles? They cannot deny this. Then we say to them: If Moses also performed miracles by invoking the names of God, why do you believe in his prophethood and reject that of Jesus? They will say: Because God Almighty taught Moses the divine names, whilst Jesus learned them not by inspiration but from the walls of the Temple. We say to them: If that which enables one to perform miracles can be attained by a person not selected by God and to whom [6b] God does not wish to teach it, then how may Moses be believed? They will say: Because he received the divine names from the Lord. And we will ask: How do you know he received them from the Lord? They will say: By the chain of transmission of reports from our ancestors.

We further force them to take recourse to their ancestors' tradition by saying to them: By what do you recognize the prophethood of Moses? If they say: By the miracles he performed, we say to them: Has any of you seen those miracles? This is indeed no way to verify

20. This notion is incorporated in the Koran.
21. Following medieval folk-lore.

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the prophetic missions; for it would follow that the miracles should be perpetuated beyond the lifetime of the prophet in order that every generation might behold the miracles and believe them. But this is not necessary. For if a prophet has appeared in a certain age and his prophethood proven true by miracles performed by him for the people of that time, and if the report thereof reaches the people of another age, the latter must believe in his prophetic mission and follow him, because (authenticated) transmitted reports and well-established phenomena must be accepted by reason. Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad — God's prayer and blessing upon them — are equals in this respect. If anything, the transmission of evidence for the prophethood of Moses is weaker than that for the mission of Jesus and Muhammad, since the evidence of the Muslims and Christians for the mission of Moses is based merely on the fact that their respective scriptures bear witness thereto; and their belief in his prophethood is derived from their belief in their own respective scriptures.

As to the miracle of the Koran,[22] its permanence, which is not essential as a reason for belief, is an additional advantage. Further, anyone endowed with a taste for eloquence will believe in the miraculous character of the Koran, and do so as the eyewitness of a miracle and not merely as one who relies on hearsay. However, this is a stage not everyone can attain.[B14]

Should they say: All the nations bear witness to our prophet, therefore the transmission is stronger in his favor; how can you say then that it is weaker? We should say: Is the consensus of the nations' testimony [7a] true in your opinion? Should they say 'yes,' we say: But the nations whose evidence you have just accepted are unanimous in declaring you unbelievers living in error; this is now binding upon you inasmuch as their evidence is accepted by you. Should they say, 'we do not accept anybody's evidence,' they will be left only with the chain of transmission of their own community, which is the smallest community numerically, and their transmission and religion would, consequently, be the least sound.

From the preceding, it follows that anyone who has performed miracles attested to by a chain of transmission is to be believed in his

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22. The Koran is considered inimitable, perfect in eloquence, miraculous. The eloquence and style of the Koran are considered by Muslim theologians miraculous in the sense that these properties of the Koran proved inimitable, whether because of intrinsic perfection, or as a result of divine intervention against those challenged by the Prophet to produce anything like the verses of his scripture.

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teaching. From this, it follows that the Jews must accept as true the prophethood of Jesus and of Muhammad — upon both of whom be peace.

Section on what they tell of Jesus

They assert that he was a scholar, not a prophet; that he used to heal the sick with medicines but made them believe that the improvement had set in through his prayer; that he healed a group of sick persons of their diseases on a Sabbath. When the Jews disapproved thereof, he said to them: Tell me, if a sheep of the fold fell into the well on a Saturday, would you not go down to it, thus permitting the breaking of the Sabbath rest to save the sheep? They said, 'certainly.' He said: Then why do you violate the Sabbath to save cattle, but will not do so to save a human being who is more important than cattle? Thus he silenced them, but they believed not.[23]

They also tell about him that he was on a mountain with some of his disciples, and no food reached them, and he permitted them to gather herbs on the Sabbath. But the Jews disapproved of cutting herbs on the Sabbath.[B15] He said to them: If one of you were with people not of his own faith and if they, without any intention of breaking the Sabbath, ordered him to cut a plant on the Sabbath and to throw it to their draft animals, would you not permit him to cut the plant? They said 'certainly.' Then he said: I ordered these men to cut the plant that they might eat it and nourish themselves; not that they might infringe upon the Sabbath. All this [was said] [7b] in a gentle attempt to treat their minds, which were not receptive to abrogation. Even if what they tell of this matter were true, it would perhaps refer to the beginning of the ministry of Jesus.

23. Cf. Matth. 12:1-12.

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An account of the verses and allusions referring in the Torah to the prophethood of our master Muhammad the Chosen — may God pray over him and grant him peace[B16]

They cannot deny this verse from the second portion of the fifth book of the Torah:[24]

נביא אקים להם מקרב אחיהם כמוך אליו ישמעון

meaning: *I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren like unto thee; in him they shall believe.*[B17]

This certainly is an allusion to the fact that they shall believe Muhammad.

Should they say: The text has *from among their brethren,* and it is unusual for our Scripture to refer to non-Israelites as 'your brethren,' we would say: Ay, it says in the Torah 'your brethren the children of Esau,' namely in the first portion of the fifth book:[25]

אתם עוברים בגבול אחיכם בני עשו היושבים בשעיר

meaning: *Ye are to pass through the border of your brethren the children of Esau, that dwell in Seir; and do not covet any of their land.*[B18]

Now if the children of Esau were brethren to the children of Israel because Esau and Israel were the sons of Isaac, then the children of Ishmael are likewise brethren to all the progeny of Abraham.

Should they say that this passage refers rather to the prophet Samuel inasmuch as it says "from among their brethren like unto thee," and Samuel was like Moses insofar as he too was from amongst the children of Levi, i.e., of the same tribe as Moses,[26] we might say: If so, then why did God have to enjoin you to believe in Samuel who, as you say, had nothing to add to or abrogate (in the Law)? Was he afraid you might reject him?[B19]

[8a] For he was sent merely to strengthen your hands against the people of Palestine and to lead you back to the law of the Torah.

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24. Confusion of Deut. 18:15 and verse 18. The first part here is from verse 18, the second from verse 15 with its command *unto him ye shall hearken.* The verses belong to the fifth weekly portion in Deuteronomy.

25. Deut. 2:4; the concluding sentence is not a quotation from the text but a paraphrase of the following verse: *contend not with them; for I will not give you of their land,* etc.

26. The argument recurs in the autobiography.

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You would be quick to believe a man of his description. And it might rather be feared that you would repudiate him who abrogates your religion and changes the rulings of your faith, and the injunction to believe in him might be indispensable for people like you. That is why Moses did *not* have to enjoin you to believe in the prophethood of Jeremiah, Isaiah, and the other prophets.

This is proof that in this passage the Torah commanded them to believe in Muhammad — God's prayer and blessings upon him and his followers.

The allusion to his name in the Torah

God says in the third portion of the first book of the Torah addressing Abraham, the friend of God [al-khalīl][27] *And as for Ishmael, I have heard thee: behold I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful and will multiply him exceedingly.*[28] In the original:

ולישמעאל שמעתיך הנה ברכתי אותו והפריתי אותו
והרביתי אותו במאד מאד

Now this word "exceedingly," *bi-me'od me'od*, if we compute the numerical value of its letters, will add up to ninety-two, which is also the numerical value of the letters in the name Muhammad. Yet in the present passage this was left enigmatic; had it been clear, the Jews might have changed it or omitted it from the Torah as they did elsewhere.[B20]

They might say that there are a number of words in the Torah with the numerical letter value equal to that of the names of Zayd, 'Amr, Khālid, and Bakr, but it does not follow that Zayd, 'Amr, Khālid, and Bakr are prophets. The answer to that is: It would be as they say if this verse were the mere equal of other Torah passages; but we shall produce proofs and demonstrate that [8b] it is without equal in the rest of the Torah. Namely, no other verse of the Torah honors Ishmael as does this one, which is a divine promise to Abraham on how great will be the honor of Ishmael. Nor is there another verse in the Torah that refers to the glory of the tribe of a Zayd or 'Amr or Khālid or Bakr. We further stress that within this verse no other word equals *bi-me'od me'od* which means "exceedingly," it being a superlative used by God — praised be He — without

27. Koran 4:124.

28. Gen. 17:20 in the fourth weekly section. (Hebrew and Arabic letters were used as figures to express numerals.)

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equal among the other words of the verse quoted. As this verse is the most superlative concerning Ishmael and his progeny, and this word the most superlative of all the words of the verse, it is not surprising it should contain an allusion to the most glorious and distinguished of Ishmael's progeny [i.e. Muhammad] — God's prayer and blessing over him and his kin and companions.

As we have shown that this word has no equal in the verse, nor this verse in the whole Torah, the Jews' objection is null and void.

On the passage alluding to the prophethood of Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad [29]

ואמר אדני מסיני אתגלי וזהור יקרה משעיר אתחזי לנא אתגלי בגברתה
מטורא דפארן ועמה רבון קדישין

This means: *God will reveal himself from Sinai, His light will rise from Seir and will shine forth from the mountains of Paran, and with Him myriads of the holy.*[B21]

They know that Mt. Seir is the mountain range Sharāt[30] [9a] on which lived the children of Esau who believed in Jesus.[31]

Further, in this range was the abode of Christ — peace upon him. They know that Sinai is Mt. Ṭūr.[B22] But they do not know that Mt. Paran is the mountain of Mecca. The allusion to these three places, which were the abodes of the ministry of these prophets, should impel the intelligent to inquire into the exposition of this passage which results in the command to follow the teaching of the prophets.

Clear proof from the Torah that Mt. Paran is the mountain of Mecca is the fact that Ishmael, when he parted from his father Abraham, settled in the wilderness of Paran. The Torah tells about it thus:[32]

וישב במדבר פארן ותקח לו אמו אשה מארץ מצרים

i.e.: *And he dwelt in the wilderness of Paran; and his mother took him a wife out of the land of Egypt.*[B23] Thus the Torah states that

29. Deut. 33:2 in the Aramaic (Onkelos) version. The Hebrew is translated as follows: "The Lord came from Sinai, and rose from Seir unto them; He shined forth from Mount Paran, and he came from the myriads holy."

30. *Sharāt* — the mountainous region of ancient Edom in Southern Palestine, adjoining the Gulf of Aqaba and forming the transition to the Arabian area. This is the biblical Seir, the land of Esau (Gen. 36:8, 20, 21; Deut. 2:5; Jo. 24:4).

31. Esau is called here al-'Is, and connected with the followers of 'Isā, i.e. Jesus. Jews used to designate Christendom as Edom, and Islam as Ishmael.

32. Gen. 21:21.

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Mt. Paran is the abode of the people of Ishmael. If the Torah alluded in the previously quoted verse to prophecy coming from Mt. Paran, it follows that it is the prophecy unto the people of Ishmael, because it is they who are the dwellers of Paran. All will then see that the allusion to prophecy from the progeny of Ishmael points to Muhammad, for it was he who was sent forth from Mecca, formerly the abode of Ishmael. This indicates that the mountains of Paran are those of Mecca, and that the Torah, in this passage, alluded to the mission of Muhammad and announced it; but the Jews, in ignorance and error, fail to connect these two verses. They admit the premises but, in their excessive ignorance, not the conclusion. The Torah bears witness to their poor understanding and counsel. Namely, in the passage[33]

כי גוי אבד עצות המה ואין בהם תבונה

meaning: *For they are a nation void of counsel, and there is no understanding in them.*[B24]

[9b] *Refutation of their claim that God loves them*

They assert that God loves them above all men, and loves their community and race, and that the prophets and the saintly are selected by God only from their midst. But we shall dispute them thereon.

We say to them: What have you to say about the prophet Job — on whom be peace — do you recognize his prophethood?[B25] They will say 'yes.' Then we say to them: Is he one of the children of Israel? They will say 'no.'

We then say to them: What have you to say about the bulk of the children of Israel, namely the nine-and-a-half tribes seduced by Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who revolted against the son of Solomon the son of David and made the two calves of gold? Many of the Israelites, and all the people in the region of their capital then called Shomron, were bent on worshipping the golden calves[34] until a war took place between these Israelites and the two-and-a-half tribes that, headed by the son of Solomon in Jerusalem, were true

33. Deut. 32:28-9.

34. I Kings 12:23. Jeroboam's city was Shechem. Shomron-Samaria was founded later by Omri (ib. 16:24). In IK 11:31-32 Ahijah the Shilonite promises Jeroboam rule over ten tribes while one tribe (Judah) was to be left with the House of David. (Later notion in II Chron. 11:1)

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believers. And in one battle 500,000 men were slain.[35] What say you about all those slain and about the nine and a half tribes — did God love them because they were Israelites? They will say: No, He did not, because they were infidels.

Then we say to them: Is it not in your Torah that there be no difference in your religion between the stranger and the native? They will say: Certainly, for the Torah says about it:[36]

כגר כאזרח ככם יהיה לפני ה׳

meaning: *The stranger and the native shall be equal before the Lord.* תורה אחת ומשפט אחד יהיה לכם ולגר הגר בתוככם

meaning: *One law and one ordinance shall be both for you and for the stranger* [10a] *that sojourneth amidst you.*[B26]

Once we force them to admit that God does not love the errant among them, but does love the believers outside their community and selects prophets and saints who are not of their race, they negate their claim that God's love is reserved specifically for their community, of all mankind.

Section devoted to some aspects of their unbelief and falsification

Men of scholarly attainments will shun vice and avoid what sound minds regard with disapproval, and what clear thinking is likely to declare spurious. But in this community of the Jews there are varieties of error and corruption that [sound] minds will shrink from, and that defy both human reason and divine law.

Thus, despite the disappearance of their state, despite their dispersion, and their recognition of the divine wrath extended over them, they still say each day in their prayers that they are God's children and beloved ones. Thus they say daily in the prayer:[37]

אהבת עולם אהבתנו אדני אלהינו

meaning: *Thou hast loved us with eternal love, O Lord our God,*[B27]

השיבנו אבינו לתורתך

meaning: *Return us, O our Father, to thy Law,*[38]

אבינו מלכנו אלהינו

meaning: *O our Father, O our King, O our God,*

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35. II Chron. 13:17.
36. Confusion of Lev. 24:22, Num. 15:15-16, Ex. 12:49.
37. The prayer before the *Shema'*.
38. From the *'amida.*

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אתה ה' אבינו גואלנו

meaning: *Thou art, O Lord, our Father our Redeemer,*[39]

ואת כל רודפי בניך ואויבי עדתך כלם כסמו ים, אחד מהם לא נותר

meaning: *And all those who persecuted Thy children, and all the enemies of Thy community — all of them the sea hath covered, not one of them remained.*[B28]

They picture themselves as clusters of grapes, and the other nations as the thorn that surrounds the top of the vineyard walls. This comes from their poor minds and defective insight; for he who cares for a vineyard will place thorns on top of the walls in order [10b] to protect and preserve the vineyard. But we do not find that the other nations harbored for the Jews anything but evil, humiliation, and contempt, and this disproves their assertion.[B29]

They expect a leader who will come of the house of David the prophet. When he moves his lips in prayer, all the other nations will die and only the Jews will remain. This expected one is, they contend, the Messiah they have been promised.[40]

But the prophets — peace upon them — coined for them parables pointing to the glory of the religion of Jesus, to the submission of the mighty to the people of his community, and to his declaration of the supreme abrogation.

Such is the word of Isaiah in his prophecy:[41]

וגר זאב עם כבש יחדיו ירבצו ביניהם ופרה ודב תרעינה
ואריה כבקר יאכל תבן

meaning: *The wolf and the lamb shall all pasture and lie down together, and the cow and the bear shall pasture together, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox.*[B30]

But they understood only the sensory images of those parables, not their spiritual meaning, and turned away from believing in Jesus at the time of his mission, continuing to wait for the lion to eat straw, that it might serve as a true sign of the Messiah's advent.

They also believed that when this expected Messiah has come he will gather them all in Jerusalem, the sovereignty will be theirs, the world will be emptied of all others, and death will be kept from them for a long time. It is still their custom to follow the lions into their thickets and to throw straw in front of the lions to see just when they eat it.

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39. To be found in the Saadia prayer book p. 16, line 12; not in later texts.
40. Cf. Isaiah 11:4.
41. Inaccurately quoted from Is. 11:6-7.

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Also, in the first ten days of the year they say in their prayers:[42]

אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו מלך על כל יושבי תבל ארצך ויאמר כל אשר נשמה
באפו אדני אלהי ישראל מלך ומלכותו בכל משלה

meaning: *Our God* [11a] *and the God of our fathers, reign Thou* ***over all the inhabitants of the world, so that whatsoever is animated*** *may say God, the God of Israel, reigns and His dominion ruleth over* ***all.***

In this prayer they say also:[B31] *To God will belong dominion and on that day God will be one.*[43] They mean thereby that it will not be evident that dominion belongs to God unless the sovereignty passes to the Jews, His nation and choice; and so long as the government is in the hands of non-Jews, God is hardly known among the nations, His reign is defective, His power doubtful. This is the import of their saying, *God, reign Thou over all the inhabitants of the earth,* and the import of their saying, *And the dominion will be unto God.* Into the same category will fall their saying:[44]

למה יאמרו הגויים איה נא אלהיהם

meaning: *Wherefore should the nations say: Where is now their God?*[B32] and their saying:[45]

עורה למה תישן אדני הקיצה משנתך

meaning: *Awake, why sleepest Thou, O Lord? Arouse Thyself from Thy slumber.*[B33]

These people uttered such words of delirium and unbelief from the great vexation resulting from humiliation, enslavement, contempt and expectation of the ever-receding deliverance. This plunged them into irrationality and vexation and led them to a form of heresy and delirium which only their incoherent minds could accept. Thus they became bold against God in these vile prayers, as if they were urging God to encourage them and protect Himself. For when they pray to their Lord in this way, they, as it were, inform Him that He has apparently chosen to be obscure and they urge Him to bestir Himself and become renowned. Thus one may see a Jew shuddering as he recites these words in the prayer, yet doubting not that his word will greatly impress God, and that he will influence his Lord, move Him, shake Him, challenge Him. In truth, the ignorance and weak-mindedness of such people should be pitied.[B34]

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42. From a section of the *'Amida* for Rosh Hashana.
43. To be found in the prayer preceding the one cited in n. 42.
44. Ps. 115:2.
45. Ps. 44:24 (*from thy slumber* does not occur in the psalm).

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Also, their Torah states that Moses ascended the mountain together with the elders of [11b] his people and that they saw God clearly, and under His feet there was a stool; it looked like crystal.[46] It says:[B35]

וירא את אלהי ישראל ותחת רגליו כמראה לבנת הספיר
וכעצם השמים לטהר

They maintain that the two tablets were written by God's finger, the text reading:[47]

באצבע אלהים

It would take too long to enumerate the anthropomorphic heresies maintained by them. True, their scholars, benefiting from the Muslim monotheism, have refined much of their ancestors' belief and have put such an interpretation upon their texts as will shield them from the Muslims' disapproval, even though it is not in accord with the words they interpret and translate. When asked about these shocking matters, they hide behind denial and falsehood in fear of the terrible infamy that may overtake them.

For example, they ascribe to God — praised be He — regret for what He has done. Thus the Torah they possess says:[48]

וינחם ה' כי עשה את האדם בארץ ויתעצב אל לבו

meaning: *And the Lord regretted that He had made man on earth, and was grieved.*[B36]

The compiler of the *Targum* went so far in his zealous partisanship as to falsify the words, in violation of the usage of the language, and interpreted

וינחם ה' — ותב ה' במימרה

as meaning: *And God retracted in His view.* Not only is this interpretation not in accord with usage, but it is also heretical; indeed it contradicts their rejection of sudden change in divine decision, or abrogation. The proof that ויתעצב אל לבו means *'it grieved Him'* is to be found in the words addressed to Eve:[49]

בעצב תלדי בנים

meaning: *In pain thou shalt bring forth children.*[B37] Thus it becomes clear that עצב [12a] in the Hebrew language means grief or pain. This verse occurs, in their text, in the story of the people of Noah.[50] They assert that God, when He saw the corruption of the

46. Ex. 24:10.
47. Ex. 31:18.
48. Gen. 6:6.
49. Gen. 3:16.

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people of Noah and how their evil and unbelief had become great, regretted the creation of man, and it grieved Him. Fools that they are, they do not know that whosoever asserts this is obliged to conclude that God, before He created man, was unaware of what would become of the people of Noah, and to draw other disparaging conclusions. God is above all their unbelief.

The text also has it that God said to the prophet Samuel:[51]

נחמתי כי המלכתי את שאול למלך על ישראל

meaning: *It repenteth Me that I have set up Saul to be king over Israel.*

In another passage in their scriptures it says:

וה' נחם כי המליך את שאול על ישראל

i.e.: *and the Lord repented that He had made Saul king over Israel.*

It states that the prophet Noah, upon leaving the Ark, began to build an altar to God. He made offerings. Then follows:[52]

וירח ה' את ריח הנחוח ויאמר ה' אל לבו לא אוסף עוד לקלל את האדמה בעבור האדם כי יצר לב האדם רע מנעוריו ולא אוסיף עוד להכות את כל חי כאשר עשיתי

meaning: *And the Lord smelled the pleasing odour; and the Lord said to Himself: Never again will I curse the ground because of man, for the devisings of man's heart are evil from his youth; neither will I ever again destroy every living being, as I have done.*[B38]

We do not think that these heresies were in the Torah revealed to Moses — may God's prayers be upon him; nor do we say that the Jews intended to change and corrupt the Torah. But the truth should be followed above all. And now we shall mention the true reason for the falsification of the Torah.

[12b] *Why the Torah was falsified*

None of their scholars or rabbis believes that the Torah in their possession is the one revealed to Moses. For Moses guarded the Torah from the children of Israel and did not divulge it to them, but deliv-

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50. Both of the preceding verses belong to the first portion, but Gen. 6:6 is at the end of it, close to the beginning of the portion entitled Noah, and leads to the story of the flood.

51. I Sam. 15:11 without the words *over Israel.* These words remained from the concluding sentence of the same chapter cited only in mss. P. T. and in the Cairo edition.

52. Gen. 8:21 (with slight change in word order).

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ered it to his tribe, the sons of Levi. Proof thereof is the Torah passage:[53]

ויכתב משה את התורה הזאת ויתנה אל הכהנים לבני לוי

meaning: *And Moses wrote this law, and delivered it unto the priests, the sons of Levi.*[B39]

The sons of Aaron were the judges and rulers of the Jews, for the priesthood, and the service of sacrifices and of the Temple were vested in them. Moses did not distribute any part of the Torah among the children of Israel other than half a chapter entitled *Ha'azinu.*[54] This chapter of the Torah is the one that Moses taught the children of Israel. It says:[55]

ויכתב משה את השירה הזאת וילמדה לבני ישראל

meaning: *So Moses wrote this song* [*the same day*], *and taught it to the children of Israel.*[B40]

God also said to Moses concerning this chapter:[56]

והיתה לי השירה הזאת לעד בבני ישראל

meaning: *This song may be a witness for Me against the children of Israel.*[B41] Also, God said to Moses concerning this chapter:[57]

כי לא תשכח מפי זרעם

meaning: *For it shall not be forgotten out of the mouths of their seed.*[B42] He meant that this chapter contains a reproof of their character, and that they would violate the laws of the Torah; that, subsequently, evil would befall them, their land would be destroyed, they would be dispersed over the earth. He said: This chapter will always be in their mouths [13a] as a witness against them, certifying the truth of what had been said to them.

As God said: *Shall not be forgotten out of the mouths of their seed,* this chapter indicates that God knew that the other chapters would be forgotten. This is also proof that Moses did not give the Israelites any of the Torah, other than this chapter.[B43] As to the rest of the Torah, he gave it to the sons of Aaron, depositing it among them and keeping it away from all others. These Aaronid priests, who knew the Torah and had memorized most of it, were slain by Nebuchadnezzar in a massacre at the conquest of Jerusalem.[B44] Memorizing the Torah was neither obligatory nor traditional, but

53. Deut. 31:9.
54. Deut. 32.
55. Deut. 31:22 (inaccurately cited).
56. Deut. 31:19 (inaccurate).
57. Deut. 31:21.

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each Aaronid used to memorize a section of it. When Ezra saw that the Temple of the people was destroyed by fire, that their state had disappeared, their masses dispersed and their book vanished, he collected some of his own remembrances and some still retained by the priests, and from these he concocted the Torah that the Jews now possess.[B45] That is why they hold Ezra in such high esteem and claim that a light appears over his tomb, situated near the marshes of Iraq,[B46] even unto the present day; for he has produced a book that preserves their religion. Now this Torah that they have is in truth a book by Ezra, and not a book of God. This shows that the person who collected the sections now in their possession was an empty man, ignorant of divine attributes. That is why he attributed anthropomorphism to God — regret over His past actions and the promise of abstention from similar acts in the future, as is mentioned above.

Also, one can argue against their interpretations, their extreme fanaticism, and the stress they lay on the burden [of the law], from what they say in interpreting the following verse:[58]

ראשית בכורי אדמתך תביא בית ה' אלהיך, לא תבשל גדי בחלב אמו

[13b] meaning: *The first fruits of thy land thou shalt bring unto the house of the Lord thy God; Thou shalt not let a kid mature in its mother's milk.*[B47]

What was intended thereby was that inasmuch as they had been commanded to perform the pilgrimage, they should take along, when setting out for the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the first-born of their flocks and the first fruits of the produce of their land. For they had been enjoined earlier that the young of the cows and the sheep should remain with their mothers for seven days, and from the eighth day onward the young animals might serve as offerings to God.[59] Therefore He hinted in the verse, "do not let a kid mature in its mother's milk" that the people should not protract the period during which the young of the flock remained with their mothers, but should take along on the pilgrimage to Jerusalem the first-born of the flock that had passed the seventh day since their birth so that the offerings might be selected from amongst them.[60] The foolish scholars, translating this passage and interpreting its content, took it into their heads that the legislator intended this "mature" to mean "seething" the cooked food in a pot. Suppose they are right in this interpreta-

58. Ex. 23:19.
59. Ex. 22:29.
60. Ex. 22:28.

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tion; it still would not follow from the prohibition of cooking that eating is prohibited, for if the legislator meant "eating" there was nothing to prevent him from clearly stating so. As if this error in word interpretation were not enough, they prohibited also the eating of all other meats with milk. This could be additional proof of the ignorance of the commentators and translators, ascribing falsehoods to God and thereby increasing the burden of the community. As to the proof that *tebashshel* means maturity, i.e., reaching a certain age, this can be found in the words of the chief butler to Joseph the righteous, whilst both were in prison, as the former described to the latter his dream. He said in the course of his words:[61]

ובגפן שלשה שריגים והיא כפורחת עלתה נצה הבשילו אשכלותיה

meaning: *And in the vine were three branches; and as it was budding, its blossoms shot forth,* [14a] *and the clusters thereof brought forth ripe grapes.*[B48] It has thus become clear that what is expressed by the word *hibshilu* is "reaching maturity."

The intelligent man cannot consider it implausible that a whole community has agreed upon something absurd and accepted some kind of heresy and error. When the political independence[B49] of a nation is coming to an end through foreign domination and occupation of its land, the true record of its past is obliterated, and the vestiges of its antiquity are blotted out and difficult to trace. For the political independence of a nation may come to an end through a succession of invasions and assaults, and through the devastation and partial scorching of the land. The succession of such events continues until at last the learning of a nation is displaced by ignorance.

The more ancient a nation is, and the more the various empires expose it to humiliation and grief, the more it is fated [to suffer] the obliteration of its records. This [Jewish] community is beyond doubt the one that has been exposed more than any other to the aforementioned [evils], because it is one of the oldest of nations on record and because it has been ruled by a multitude of nations, such as the Chaldeans, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, Christians, and Islam. And each of these nations was strongly bent on harming the Jews and extirpating them; intent on scorching and razing their country, and on burning their scriptures — all except the Muslims.

Indeed, Islam came upon the Jews when they were under Persian rule and had no longer a polity or army, except for the Judaizing Arabs in Khaybar.

61. Gen. 40:10.

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But even more grievous to the Jews than all these empires was what befell them at the hands of their own rebellious kings such as Ahab, Ahaziah, Amaziah,[62] Jehoram, Jeroboam b. Nebat and other kings of the Israelites, who slew the prophets, pursuing them relentlessly in order to put them to death, who worshipped idols, who invited idol-worshipping priests from abroad to strengthen idolatry and to teach the ceremonies of its cult, and who built great sanctuaries and temples for these idols. [14b] The kings and the majority of the Israelites cleaved to this worship, and the precepts of the Torah and of religious legislation were abandoned for a long time, for century after century.

If such was the succession of calamities that befell their religion at the hands of their own kings, and this of their own making, one is not surprised at the succession of the various disasters they were to suffer through foreign domination — the slaying of their priests, the burning of their scriptures, and the prohibiting of their observance of the precepts of their law. Thus the Persians often prevented them from practicing circumcision and from praying, for they knew that most prayers of this community invoked ruin of the nations and destruction of the world, with the exception of their own land, which is the land of Canaan.[B50] When the Jews saw that the Persians persisted in obstructing their prayer, they invented invocations into which they admixed passages from their prayers; and they called these ḥizāna.[B51] They set numerous tunes to them. They would assemble at prayer time in order to read and chant the ḥizāna. The difference between the ḥizāna and the prayer is that the prayer is without melody and is read only by the person conducting the service; no other person recites along with him. The ḥazzān, however, is assisted by the public in reciting the ḥizāna and in chanting melodies. When the Persians rebuked them for this, the Jews sometimes asserted that they were singing, and sometimes that they were bewailing their lot. So the Persians left them at it.

Strangely enough, by the time the dominion of Islam arose and granted recognition to the various denominations of 'protected people,'[63] and prayer became permissible unto the Jews, the ḥizāna had become a commendable tradition among them for holidays, festivals, and joyful occasions. Although no longer compelled to do so, the Jews were content to substitute ḥizāna for prayer.

62. In II Kings 14:3 a righteous ruler.
63. *Ahl al-dhimma* tolerated (monotheistic) groups in Muslim states.

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Section on what they think about the religion of Islam[B52]

The Jews assert that Muhammad had dreams indicating that he was to be the head of a state; that [15a] he traveled to Syria on business of Khadīja,[64] met rabbis and told them his dreams, and that they recognized that he was to be the head of a state. Then they attached to him as companion, ᶜAbdallāh b. Salām,[65] who instructed him for some time in scholarship and jurisprudence of the Torah.[B53] They go so far in their claim as to ascribe the miraculous eloquence of the Koran to its compilation by ᶜAbdallāh b. Salām, and maintain that it was he who stipulated in the marriage law[B54] that a wife, after her third divorce from her husband, shall not be permitted to rewed him until she has been married and divorced from another man, the purpose being, in their contention, to make *mamzerim* of the children of the Muslims. This word is plural; its singular is *mamzer*. This is the term for an illegitimate child. For, in their law, if the husband takes back his wife after she has been married to another man, her children are considered illegitimate. Since abrogation is inconceivable to them, they conclude that this stipulation in the marriage law is an interpolation of ᶜAbdallāh b. Salām, by which he sought to turn Muslim children into what they consider *mamzerim*.[66]

But even more amazing is that they made the prophet David a *mamzer* in two respects, and they turned their Messiah into a *mamzer* in two respects. For they do not doubt that David was the son of Jesse who was the son of Obed. This Obed's father was called Boaz, from the tribe of Judah; his mother's name was Ruth the Moabitess, of the children of Moab.[67] This Moab's lineage is given in the text of the Torah in the following story. When God destroyed the people of Lot for its corruption, and only Lot with his two daughters escaped, the daughters imagined that the earth had become empty of men by whom they might beget children. The elder daughter said to the younger:[68] *Our father is old, and not a man has remained upon earth to come to us after the manner of all mankind; come, let us make our father drink wine, and we will lie with him that we may preserve seed by our father.*[B55] They did this, and it is asserted that they made that prophet drink wine until he became drunk and

64. Muhammad's employer, later his wife.
65. An early Jewish convert to Islam.
66. Cf. Koran 2:229-230.
67. Ruth 1:4.
68. Gen. 19:31. Lot is a prophet in Islamic lore, beginning with the Koran.

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did not know his daughters. Then he lay with them and the two conceived, [15b] unrecognized by him. One of them bore a son whom she named *Moab,* meaning he is from the father; the other named her son *Ben Ammi,* meaning he was *of her own tribe.*[69] These two children are necessarily *mamzerim* to the Jews, for they were born of a father and his two daughters. Should the Jews deny this, on the ground that the Torah had not yet been revealed,[70] it would still follow. For they have it that when — in that same age — Abraham, the friend of God,[71] feared that the Egyptians might kill him on account of his wife, he concealed his marriage to her and said, *She is my sister,*[72] knowing that if he spoke thus, they would be safe from designs against them. This is proof that the prohibition against marrying one's sister had already been stipulated by that time. What shall one think then of marriage with one's daughter, which was not permissible even in the time of Adam? This story, referring to Lot the prophet, is in the Torah that the Jews possess, and they cannot deny it. It follows from this that the two persons they relate to Lot are *mamzerim* for they were born [under conditions that were] contrary to the law. As Ruth was of the progeny of Moab, and the ancestress of David and of their expected Messiah, the Jews have transformed both [David and the Messiah] into the progeny of a line whose legitimacy they malign.[B56]

Further, it is utterly absurd that an old man close to a hundred years of age should imbibe wine and become drunk to the extent of not recognizing his own daughters, that one of his two daughters should lie down with him, receive his sperm and get up, and he remain unaware of it all, as it says in their scripture:

ולא ידע בשכבה ובקומה

meaning: *He did not know when she lay down or when she rose.*[73] Such is the talk of a man who does not know how conception occurs.[B57] For it is impossible that a woman should conceive by a man so advanced in years and insensate through excessive drinking. What makes it utterly impossible is that they assert that his younger daughter did the same with him [16a] the following night and also conceived. It is impossible in the case of a very old man that a woman

69. Ib., Verse 36.
70. The well-known talmudic pattern to explain certain scriptural difficulties.
71. Koran 4:124 (125): "God took Abraham as a friend." Biblical prototype II Chron. 20:7.
72. Gen. 12:10-20.
73. Gen. 19:33.

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should conceive by him one night, and the very next night another woman, too, should conceive by him. But the endless animosity between the Ammonites and Moabites, on the one hand, and the Israelites on the other hand, induced the compiler of this section to concoct this absurdity so that it might be a most vilifying report about the Ammonites and Moabites.

Further, they have it that Moses vested the Aaronids with the priesthood. When Saul[74] became king, his rule was felt oppressive by the Aaronids, and he massacred many of them,[75] and later, power passed to David.[B58] Yet in the hearts of the Aaronids there remained the lust for the power they had lost. Now this Ezra was a scribe in the service of the King of Persia. He made representations for the rebuilding of Jerusalem and compiled for the Jews the Torah which is in their possession. As he was an Aaronid, he was averse to a Davidid reigning over them in the second commonwealth. So he added in the Torah two sections derogatory of the lineage of David: one is the story of the daughters of Lot, the other the story of Tamar, to be mentioned below.

By my life, he achieved his purpose: for in the second commonwealth which they had in Jerusalem it was not the Davidids who were their kings but the Aaronids.[B59] This Ezra is not al-ᶜUzayr[76] as people think.[B60] For al-ᶜUzayr is the Arabic for Elazar (Eliezer).[77] [But] the name Ezra would not change in translation to Arabic at all for it is a name whose vowels and consonants fit [the Arabic]. Nor is Ezra counted a prophet by the Jews, but called *hassofer* meaning "scribe."

Also they have in the Torah a stranger story still, as follows: Judah, the son of the prophet Jacob, married his eldest son to a woman by the name of Tamar.[78] The son used to come to his wife *ex partes posteriores,* so God was angry with his deed and slew him. Then Judah married Tamar to his other son. It came to pass that when the son went in unto her [16b] he spilled the seed on the ground, in the knowledge that, should she bear children, the first son would be called by his brother's name and thus be related to his brother. This

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74. Here Ṭālūt as in the Koran 2:248, 250.
75. I Sam. 22:16-20.
76. Koran 9:30. The Jews said: 'Uzayr is the son of God. Muslim commentaries equate 'Uzayr with Ezra, and quote embellished traditions explaining why the Jews called Ezra the son of God.
77. Gen. 15:2.
78. Gen. 38:10.

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act displeased God, and He slew him also. Then Judah ordered Tamar to rejoin her family until his son Shelah was grown and of mature mind, for Judah feared that what had befallen Shelah's two brothers might befall Shelah, too. Accordingly, she lived in her father's house. Later Judah's wife died, and he went up to a station called Timnah to shear his sheep. When Tamar was told of her father-in-law's journey to Timnah, she put on the garment of the harlots, and, knowing his character, sat on an elevated spot on his road. As he passed by her, he took her for a harlot; he enticed her, and she asked for the wage. He promised her a kid, and he pledged with her his staff and signet, and came in unto her. Consequently, she conceived by him Perez and Zerah. From the line of this Perez came Boaz who married Ruth, of Moabite descent, and from them the prophet David was descended.[B61]

Furthermore, this story has a fine point that would make abrogation necessary. Namely, when Judah was informed that his daughter-in-law had conceived in harlotry, he ruled that she be burned.[79] Then she sent him his signet and staff, saying: I am with child by the man to whom these belong.[80] He then said:[B62] She is more in the right than I.[81] He excused himself on the grounds that he had not recognized her, and that he did not visit her again. This indicates that the law of that time stipulated the burning of harlots, which the Torah abrogated by prescribing stoning.[B63]

In this story they also ascribe fornication and unbelief to the prophetic line, even as they ascribed them to the prophet Lot.

All this is found in the text of their Scripture. They make this the genealogy of David, Solomon, and the Messiah they expect. Yet they maintain that the Muslims deserve this by-name (*mamzerim*) more than their Messiah. The absurdity of this assertion is most clear and evident.

[17a] As to their rejection of the Koran's inimitable eloquence, I do not wonder at this, for they do not know Arabic sufficiently to distinguish eloquence from stammering; that, despite their long sojourn amongst the Muslims.[B64]

They argue further against Muslims and say: How can a book that contradicts itself — meaning thereby, abrogates itself — be ascribed to God?[B65] We say to them: We have already pointed to the

79. Gen. 38:24.
80. Ib. v. 25.
81. Gen. 38:25-26.

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affirmation of the permissibility thereof in the beginning of the present discourse; but as to your surprise thereat and your loathing of it — well, your own Scripture is not free from similar difficulties. Should they deny that, we would say to them: What say you about the Sabbath? Which is the earlier precept: the Sabbath or the great fast [the Day of Atonement]? They will say: The Sabbath is older. For, should they say the great fast is older, we would give them the lie, for the precept of the Sabbath was enjoined upon them following the gift of the manna, whilst the great fast was stipulated after the revelation of the two tablets and after the disobedience and calf-worshipping of the Jews.[82] When the punishment for that sin was lifted, fasting on, and solemn observance of, that day was stipulated. But should they admit the precedence of Sabbath we would say to them: What say you concerning the Sabbath, are you obliged to observe rest and quiet, and are or are not exertions forbidden on that day? They will say: Yes, certainly. Then we say to them: But why are you obliged to observe the great fast when it happens to fall on a Sabbath, even though your fast became an obligation later than the precept of Sabbath observance, and despite the fact that you suffer on the day of that fast various discomforts, such as standing all the day long? Is not this, too, an abrogation of the precept of Sabbath observance?

As to our master, the Messenger of God — may God pray over him and bless him — only two names for him are current among the Jews — may they be accursed by God, the angels, and all men. One of the names is *pasul* meaning "vile," [17b] the other *meshuggaᶜ* meaning "madman." As to the glorious Koran, they call it *Qalon* which in their tongue is a name for turpitude; they mean thereby that it is a disgrace of the Muslims.[B66] Through this and similar acts, they became most violent in enmity against those who have believed.[83] How, then, will God and men not curse them?[84]

Section demonstrating some of their ignominy

One of the disgraceful things in their religion is the procedure of yebama and ḥalūṣ. Namely they were commanded[85] that if

82. Ex. 16:23, Lev. 23:27-32.
83. After Koran 5:85.
84. After Koran 2:154.
85. Deut. 25:5-10.

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two brothers dwelt in one place, and one of them died without leaving a child, the widow should not marry a stranger; her father-in-law's son shall marry her, and the first child she will bear by him shall be attributed to his deceased brother. If he refuses to marry her, she goes forth complaining of him to the elders of her people saying: My husband's brother refuseth to raise up unto his brother a name in Israel and does not wish to marry me. The judge there will summon him and will oblige him to stand up and say:

לא חפצתי לקחתה

meaning: *I like not to take her.*[B67] The woman then will seize his shoe, take it off his foot, hold it in her hand, spit in his face, and exclaim over him:

ככה יעשה לאיש אשר לא יבנה את בית אחיו

meaning: *So shall it be done unto the man who doth not build up his brother's house.*[B68] After which he will be branded *the unshod*[86] and his family will be reviled by that appellation, i.e., *the house of him who had his shoe loosed.* All this is imposed upon them by the Torah, but therein is a ruse that forces the man to marry his deceased brother's wife. Since the man knows that the woman is obliged to summon him to her people's assembly, he may be induced to marry her. Even if his sense of shame should not deter him, he may, when summoned, be hesitant to say: *I like not to take her.* If still unashamed, [18a] he may recoil in shame from being dishonoured by the unshoeing, by having the woman remove his shoe, spit in his face, and proclaim him a failure, a man lacking in virtue. Even if he can face this, he may yet dread being reviled by the appellation that will attach to him and his kin after him with shame and bad renown; and this may force him to marry her. But if he is repelled by her to such an extent that all this will appear trivial to him, the law will separate the two. There is nothing in the Torah beyond that. But what their legists deduced from this is truly their shame and disgrace. Namely, if the *woman* is averse to marrying the brother of her deceased husband, they force him to waive his right to her. Yet they oblige her to appear before the judge in session with their rabbis, and they teach her to say:[87]

מאן יבמי להקים לאחיו שם בישראל לא אבה יבמי

meaning: *My husband's brother refuseth to raise up unto his brother a name in Israel; he will not marry me.*[B69] Thus they force her to

86. Deut. 25:10.
87. Ib. v. 7.

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lie against him; for he did wish to marry her, and she it was who withdrew, whilst he was willing. By teaching her these words, they instruct her to lie. They summon him and instruct him to rise and say.[88] לא חפצתי לקחתה

meaning: *I like not to take her.* Even though she may be his wish and desire, they order him to lie. When she dishonours him and spits in his face, it is the acme of transgression for, not content with the untruths against him, they compel him to lie and thus expose him to punishment for a sin he did not commit.[B70] Just as the poet said:

Many a sin is committed by the fools of a people,
Yet chastisement is meted out to other than those
who committed it.[89]

Account of the cause for their increasing the burden upon themselves[B71]

There are two causes for their making their burden even heavier. One of them stems from their legists called *ḥakhamim*. This word means *sages*.

[18b] The Jews in ancient times used to call their legists "sages." They had academies in Syria and Mesopotamia, during the rule of the Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, where thousands studied the sacred law until material was accumulated from which the legists decided to compile the two works, namely, the Mishna and the Talmud. The Mishna, the smaller book, consists of about eight hundred sheets; the Talmud, the larger book, has the weight of about half of the burden of a mule. The legists who wrote it did not all live in one and the same age; they continued to compile it generation after generation. When the later legists, scrutinizing this compilation, noticed that the additions to it contained contradictions to the earlier sections of the work, they realized that, unless further additions were prohibited, obvious disorder and gross contradiction would result. They therefore ceased adding to the Talmud, barred any further additions, and forbade the legists to add or affix anything to it; in fact, they excommunicated[B72] anyone who added anything to it. And thus its size was set.

In these two books the spiritual leaders of the Jews forbade them to partake of food in the company of strangers, that is, with those

88. Ib. v. 8.
89. Mutanabbi II 546 N. 225 line 26. (ed. Dieterici)

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not of their persuasion, and made it unlawful for them to eat the meat of animals slaughtered by men not of their faith. For they, i.e., the scholars and spiritual leaders, realized that their religion would not be preserved in the state of exile in which the Jews lived in humiliation and subjection, unless the scholars could keep them from mingling with people of other religions; consequently, they forbade marriage with non-Jews and the eating of the meat of animals slaughtered by non-Jews. The scholars could not have gone so far in this respect had they not concocted an argument which in reality calumniates God.

For [19a] the Torah merely prohibited marriage of Jews with non-Jews lest the Jews should follow their wives in idol-worship and unbelief in God.[90] Furthermore, in the Torah the Jews are forbidden to eat of the meat of animals slaughtered by those who offer sacrifices to idols because a name other than that of God was invoked at the slaughter. But animals not slaughtered as idol-offerings were not forbidden in the Torah; rather, the Torah speaks of the permissibility of taking food from persons of other nations. Thus God said to Moses at the time the Hebrews passed through the land of the children of Esau:[B73]

לא תתגרו בם כי לא אתן לך מארצם עד מדרך כף רגל

meaning: *Contend not with them; for I will not give you of their land, no, not even so much as the sole of the foot would tread on;*[91]

אכל תשברו מאתם בכסף ואכלתם וגם מים תכרו מאתם בכסף ושתיתם

meaning: *Ye shall purchase food of them for money, that ye may eat; and ye shall also buy water of them for money, that ye may drink.*[92]

Thus it is clear from the text of the Torah that the Jews are permitted to take food from other peoples, and eat it. They know that the children of Esau were idol-worshippers and infidels. Now the Muslims, for example, are not lower in rank than the children of Esau. Therefore, the Jews should accept the food of the Muslims; nay, they should prefer it, since the Muslims, because of their monotheism and their faith, are not idol-worshippers. True, Moses forbade the Jews to marry idol-worshippers or to eat the meat of animals slaughtered in the name of idols; but we do not know of a single Muslim who invokes the name of an idol or image at the slaughter-

90. Ex. 34:16; Nu. 25:1-3.
91. Deut. 2:5.
92. Ib. 2:6.

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ing of an animal. What is the matter with these Jews, then, that they do not eat of animals slaughtered by Muslims?

What *is* the matter with the Jews who live in Syria and Persia that they will not accept from the Muslims such food as milk, cheese, sweetmeats, bread, *et cetera?*

[19b] If they say: That is because the Torah forbade us to eat ṭerefa; we say to them: Ṭerefa is the prey torn by the lion or wolf or other wild beast. Proof thereof is the Torah verse:[93]

ובשר בשדה טרפה לא תאכלו לכלב תשליכו אתו

meaning: *Ye shall not eat any flesh that is torn of beasts in the field; ye shall cast it to the dogs.*[B74]

When the leaders saw that the Torah makes no mention of a prohibition against the foods of the gentiles — except the idol-worshippers — and that the Torah clearly states that the prohibition against eating together and mingling with non-Jews stems from the fear lest this should gradually lead to intermarriage, which is objectionable lest it be followed by conversion to the religions and idol-worship of the gentiles — all of which is clearly stated in the Torah —they invented a book entitled הלכת שחיטה meaning *the science of (animal-) slaughter.* In this book, they imposed upon the Jews an increased burden that distracts them from their position of humiliation and affliction.[B75] Thus they ordered the Jews to blow into the lung of the animal until it is filled with air, and then observe whether the air is escaping through some aperture. If it is, they declare the meat unlawful. If some section of the lung adheres to another, they do not eat the meat of that animal. The inspector of the slaughter is also instructed to put his hand into the slaughtered animal's belly in order to determine with his finger whether the heart is attached to the back or to one of the sides; should there be an adhesion by a vein, though it be as fine as a hair, they declare the meat unlawful, do not eat thereof, and call it ṭerefa, meaning *unclean.* This designation is the first transgression [20a] on the part of the scholars, because in Hebrew usage ṭerefa refers merely to prey killed by some beast. Proof thereof is found in what Jacob says when Joseph's shirt, soiled with blood, is brought to him:[94]

ויכירה ויאמר כתנת בני חיה רעה אכלתהו, טרף טרף יוסף

meaning: *He recognized it and said: my son's tunic! a wild beast has devoured him! Joseph has been mauled by a beast!*[B76] Thus it

93. Ex. 22:30.
94. Gen. 37:33.

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becomes clear that the sense of טרף טרף יוסף is that Joseph was torn to pieces by a beast of prey, and terefa is the prey.

Another proof thereof is that it says in the Scriptures: *Ye shall not eat any flesh that is torn by beasts in the field.*[95] Prey of beasts is always to be found in the desert; and there is nothing surprising in the fact that the prohibition against eating this prey was revealed to a people of tent-dwellers, living in the desert. For they spent fully forty years wandering in desert and in wilderness, most of this time finding no food other than manna. When their lust for meat grew, Moses brought them quails. The quail (salwā) is a small bird similar to the sumānā. Its specific quality is that the eating of its meat softens the wicked heart, and eliminates conceit and cruelty. Indeed, this bird dies if it hears the sound of thunder, just as the swallow is destroyed by cold. God causes the quail to dwell on islands devoid of rain and thunder until the rainy season is past, after which the bird leaves the islands and spreads over the earth.[B77] God brought this bird to the Hebrews that they might benefit from the specific quality of its flesh, namely, the softening of wicked hearts. The Hebrews' lust for meat had grown to such an extent that nothing less than a revealed Torah prohibition could restrain them from eating beasts' prey and carcasses. So the transgression of their elders in interpreting terefa becomes clear, [20b] since merely "beasts' prey" is meant. But the legists invented absurdities and nonsense connected with the lung and heart [of a slaughtered animal]. They said that a slaughtered animal if found fit under these conditions is *dakhya* meaning *clean;* if it does not satisfy these conditions, it is terefa meaning *unlawful.* They said that the significance of the Torah verse: *Ye shall not eat any flesh that is torn by beasts in the field; you shall cast it to the dogs,* is that if you slaughter an animal and it does not satisfy these conditions — do not eat of it, but sell it to the gentiles. Thus they interpret "cast it to the dogs" to mean "to a person not of your persuasion; feed it to him, sell it to him." But, in truth, it is they who are like dogs, deserving this appellation and analogy on account of their mental turpitude, and their evil thoughts and beliefs concerning other nations.[B78]

The Jews are of two sects. One of them, the Karaites, recognizes that those early authorities who compiled the Mishna and the Talmud, i.e., the Jewish legists, are a pack of calumniators of God and

95. Ex. 22:30.

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of the prophet Moses; and that they are men of appalling stupidity and unsound mind. Thus, on questions concerning their law and religion, the legists usually differ from one another. Yet the Jews assert that the legists, even when disagreeing with one another on each of these questions, were inspired by God, all of them hearing Him say: In this question, legist so and so is right. This voice they call *bath qol*. When the Karaite Jews, disciples of ᶜAnan and Benjamin,[96] saw these infamous absurdities, this disgraceful forgery, and silly lie, they seceded from the legists and all those who followed them. They repudiated all of these impious fabrications. Having established [21a] the deception of the legists with their false claim to prophethood and their assertion that God has been inspiring them all several times a day, the Karaites decided that the legists had strayed from the right course, and that none of their tenets should be accepted. Consequently, they opposed the deceitful legists in all other matters which the text of the Torah did not mention. The Karaites ate meat with milk and forbade only the flesh of the young kid in its mother's milk, out of deference to the text of the verse: *Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.* As for the absurdities by the "sages" — or legists — which they entitled hilkhath shehīṭa, i.e., the science of animal slaughter, these are legal problems systematized by the legists, which the Karaites dismissed and voided, along with many other things. They desisted from declaring unlawful any animal slaughtered by themselves. Such is the position of this group of Jews, i.e., the Karaites. They have legists of their own, too, who are authors of books, but do not go so far in calumniating God as to claim prophethood; nor do they ascribe their interpretations to prophetic inspiration, or to God, but merely to their own effort (ijtihād).[B79]

The other sect is called the Rabbanites. They are more numerous. They are followers of the "sages" — the legists who calumniate God and who assert that on every problem God was wont to address them through the voice they call *bath qol*. Among the Jews, this group is the most harsh in its animosity toward other nations. These God-calumniating legists made the Jews believe that food and drink become lawful for man through the application of this "science" which they ascribe to Moses and to God; that the other nations do not know it, and that only the Jews have been so honoured by God through

96. Anan b. David, the VIII cent. Karaite teacher. Benjamin Nahāwandī, the IXc. Karaite master.

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this and similar absurdities, with which the legists have corrupted the minds of the Jews. A Jew will look upon someone not [21b] of his own faith as one would look upon some animal devoid of intelligence; and regard the foods eaten by the gentiles as a sensible man would regard dung, or the pus of the dead, and similar filth that is unfit as food for any human. This is the root of the community's perseverance in its religious laws, its strict segregation from other nations, and its utterly scornful and contemptuous view of the rest of mankind.

As for the first group, the Karaites, most of them were little by little converted to Islam, so that only a few of them are left. Since the Karaites are free from the absurdities of the Rabbanite legists, those persistent fabricators who aggravated the burden of their community, they are better prepared to embrace Islam.[B80]

From what we have mentioned, it becomes clear that the "sages" are those who imposed their law upon this group, making livelihood more difficult and the burden heavier. They sought thereby to pit the Jews ever more against the religions of the gentiles lest they mingle with the gentiles and thus be led to the abandonment of their religion.

The second cause for the oppressiveness of their burden is that the Jews are dispersed both to the East and to the West. In any town harbouring a community of Jews there may appear from a distant land a man of their faith who displays religious strictness, extreme piety, and meticulous observance. If he happens to be trained theologically, he will start to rebuke them for certain practices, giving an impression of superiority. He will accuse them of defective observance. He will ascribe the substance of his rebuke to his masters and to his townsmen, and his references for the most part will be false. In this way, he hopes to achieve leadership or some other goal, especially if he intends to remain with or be influential among them. So you may see him, upon his arrival, refraining from partaking of their food [22a] and of the meat of their slaughter; examining the knife of their slaughterer, whom he will reprove for something or other, saying: I shall not eat except of my own slaughter. You may see them vexed by him, while he continues to blame them for what is lawful and permissible, suggesting that these things be prohibited on the strength of his fabricated references until their doubts are dispelled.

Should, after a long interval, a countryman of his arrive, who knows how false are those references to authorities, the newcomer

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may either agree with him or oppose him. In the former case, the newcomer will agree in order to share in the spiritual leadership achieved by his countryman and out of fear lest he, in opposing the leader, be denounced as a liar or accused of a lack of piety.

Moreover, the newcomer in most cases will approve of what the first one has sought to institute, i.e., declaring lawful things unlawful and disapproving of permissible things, and will say: May God greatly reward so and so, for he has strengthened the authority of the faith in the hearts of this community, and has repaired the fence of the law[B81] amidst them. Should he meet the other alone, he will thank him and bless him, or say to him: God has made you the pride of our fellow townsmen. However, should the newcomer defy what the first has instituted, i.e., his censure and oppression, not one in the community would sympathize with him, or trust him. Nay, all of them would think he is not pious enough, for these people are convinced that narrowing the scope of livelihood and prohibiting things unlawful is a sign of extreme piety and asceticism, and they invariably believe that religion and truth are with him who makes things more difficult for them. They do not stop to consider whether he does or does not produce any proof, nor do they investigate whether he is right or wrong. Such is the case of a theologically-trained newcomer in a town.

Should the newcomer happen to be a rabbi — a Jewish scholar —he would institute a strange religious regime and introduce new customs with added precepts imposed, yet no one can raise an objection. They surrender to him completely, while he cleverly milks them [22b] and filches away their money. Should he learn that some young Jew sat alongside the road on a Sabbath, or bought milk or wine from a Muslim, the rabbi would rebuke and curse the fellow at a gathering of the town's Jews, would disparage him, and ascribe it all to religious slackness.[B82]

This reason and the reason mentioned above are the cause of the increased oppressiveness of the burden the Jews have imposed upon themselves, of the narrowing scope of their livelihood, and of their abstention from the food of other people and from mingling with those not of their own community. We have clarified these for the reflective reader.

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EPILOGUE

He most deserves to be described as ignorant and branded as errant, whose nature defies the pursuit of the verities, and whose mind is far from perceiving the ultimate truth. But his station is even more miserable, who not only resists admitting the verities, but is also quick to accept the absurd and to believe the impossible, so that he deserves to be characterized as insane and degenerate. The group under consideration is most deserving of such a characterization, for although their ancestors daily witnessed sensorial miracles and heavenly fire as no other people did, yet they repeatedly plotted the stoning of Moses and Aaron. It is enough to mention that they chose the golden calf in the days of Moses; preferred to return to Egypt into slavery in order to sate themselves with flesh, onion, and cucumber; worshipped idols after the time of Joshua b. Nun; and joined Absalom, the refractory son of David by the daughter of the King of Geshur.[B83] The overwhelming majority joined this rebellious and refractory son, and waged war at his side against David, the great king and noble prophet of God. Then, when they shifted their allegiance back to David,[97] their delegations and troops began streaming to him, asking to be forgiven for what they had perpetrated, [23a] and rejoicing in the safety of King David. Their eagerness was so intense that the tribes picked a quarrel with the tribe of Judah when, in a fervent race for precedence in the service of the king, it crossed the Jordan with its king before the arrival of the troops of the other tribes. Mild rebukes were exchanged, and then the tribe of Judah said: *We are more entitled than others to hasten to the king and be eminent in his service because he is near of kin to us, and you have no reason to blame us, O children of Israel.* Then a base fellow arose, Sheba the son of Bichri,[98] and called at the top of his voice: *We have no portion in David, neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse, every man to his tent, O Israel.* No sooner said than the army of the children of Israel seceded from David in answer to that base fellow's call. But when the vizier Joab succeeded in slaying the mischief-maker, all the troops returned their

97. II Sam. 19:41-44. Maacah, the daughter of Talmai, King of Geshur, was Absalom's mother — II Sam. 3:3, I Chr. 3:2 (Geshur was a principality in the northeastern part of Transjordan).

98. II Sam. 20:1-2. The parts of the name are transposed in the mss. *Let every one of you proceed to his tent.*

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allegiance to David. The people were like ruffians, a vulgar rabble who rally to drum-beating only to be dispersed by a yell.

As for their worship of the two calves,[99] their abandonment of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and their persistent opposition to the prophets down to the very end of their kingdom — all this is not what one would expect from people in their right minds. It is their way to follow another nation only in its vices. Such is their ignominy and shame.[100]

As to their being quick to accept the absurd and incredible, we shall cite an instance illustrative of their lack of intelligence, namely what happened in our own time to the cleverest, shrewdest, and craftiest among them, the Jews of Baghdad.[B84] An impostor arose in the region of Mosul, a young Jew named Menaḥem b. Sulaymān and known as Ibn ar-Rūḥī. He was a man of fine appearance. By the standards of the rank and file of Jews dwelling in the district known as Amadia in the country [ruled from] Mosul, he was well-versed in their religion. The commander of a fortress there was so kindly disposed toward this impostor, of whom he had formed a good opinion and whose [23b] feigned piety impressed him, that he used to look forward to visiting this man. The impostor coveted the place of the governor, whom he considered a simpleton, and imagined that he would be able to pounce upon the fortress and take it over, that it might become his fortified stronghold. So he wrote to the Jews who dwelled in the various districts of the country of Adharbayjān and the adjacent territory, knowing as he did that the Persian Jews are the most ignorant of all Jews. In his writings he mentioned that he was a leader[I85] zealous to free the Jews from the hands of the Muslims, and he addressed the Jews with various ruses and deceptions. Passages of his writings which I saw were to this effect:

"Perhaps you will say — what has he rallied us for, is it war or battle? No, we want you not for war or battle but that you might stand before this leader, to be seen at his gates by the royal envoys who surround him."

Toward the end of the writings:

"It behooves each of you to have a sword or other instrument of war and to conceal it under your garments."

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99. T. adds: of gold, which Jeroboam made in Nablus, and their turning to the (worship of the) two calves.

100. The text has: They will not come near the disgrace of any other nation. This does not seem to make sense. Apparently the opposite sense is required, as given in the translation.

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The Persian Jews, and the people[B86] of the environs of Amadia and of the region of Mosul, responded. They flocked to him with concealed weapons until a vast number of them had gathered about him. The governor, because of his good opinion of him, thought that the people were mere pilgrims visiting the alleged sage who had appeared in his town; so it was, until their ambitions were disclosed to him. He was too forebearing to shed blood; he therefore killed only the trouble-making impostor. The rest of them dispersed in dismay, after suffering the evil results of affliction, privation, and destitution.

This story, though clear to every sensible person, was not plain enough for them. Nay, to this day they, I mean the Jews of Amadia, prefer him [the impostor] to many of their prophets. Some of them believe he is the expected Messiah himself. I saw groups of Persian Jews in Khoy, Silmās, Tabrīz, and Marāgha [24a] who used his name for their gravest oath. As for the Jews of Amadia they became, in all their practices, more segregated from and opposed to the Jews than the Christians. In that region there is a group that professes a religion which it relates to the above-mentioned impostor, Menahem.[B87]

When the report about him reached Baghdad, two Jewish tricksters, cunning elders, decided to forge letters by Menahem to the Jews of Baghdad bringing them the good tidings which they had been expecting since of yore; that he would appoint for them a certain night in which all of them would fly to Jerusalem. The Jews of Baghdad, their claim to sagacity and pride in craftiness notwithstanding, were all led to believe it.[B88] Their women brought their moneys and jewels in order that it all might be distributed, on their behalf, as charity to those whom the two elders considered deserving. In this manner the Jews spent the bulk of their wealth. They donned green garments,[B89] and on that night gathered on the roofs expecting, they asserted, to fly to Jerusalem on the wings of angels. Women began to weep over their nursing infants. What if the mothers should fly before their children or the children before their mothers? The children might suffer hunger because of the delay in feeding. At the time, the Muslims there marveled so greatly at what had befallen the Jews that they refrained from opposing them until the result of the Jews' vain expectations had come to light.[B90] The Jews kept crowding together for the flight until the morning disclosed their frustration and ignominy. But those two deceivers es-

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caped with whatever they had appropriated of the Jews' wealth. Subsequently, the Jews realized the nature of the trick and how they had been fooled.[B91] Then they named that year "the year of the flight" and began to reckon the years of their old and young as from that year: it is the era of the Jews of Baghdad at the present time. This affair should suffice to cast shame and disgrace upon them forever.

[24b] What we have listed is fully adequate to achieve the purpose of silencing them and muzzling them with their very own data.

In God do I seek refuge and safety from their polytheism.

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THE CONVERSION TO ISLAM OF SAMAU'AL IBN YAḤYA AL-MAGHRIBI

and the narrative of his vision of the Prophet, upon whom God's prayer and blessing in the night of ᶜArafa in the year 558.[101] There is no God but God upon whom I rely.[102]

Said Samau'al, after praise to God and prayer for his prophet Muhammad, the God-chosen, and his kin.

Divine Providence leads a man, who through God's knowledge is predestined to be rightly guided, until he finds the right course at the exact time which God in His knowledge has set in advance. I shall relate God's guidance granted to me, and how I was led since my birth from the faith of the Jews toward my conversion, that it may become an example and an exhortation to whomsoever this may reach. The reader shall know that divine kindness is so concealed as to be unfathomable. God will select whomsoever He wishes, will grant wisdom to whomsoever He wants, and will lead him along the straight path.[103]

[25a] My father was called Rāb Yehūda Ibn Abūn and was of the city of Fās in Morocco; Rāb being a title, not a name, and its meaning — a Rabbi. He was the most learned man of his time in Torah studies, and the most gifted and prolific stylist and exquisite extemporizer in Hebrew poetry and prose. Among the Arabic-speaking people he was known as Abū-l-Baqā' Yaḥyā ībn ᶜAbbās al-Maghribī. For most of the distinguished people among the Jews have an Arabic name distinct or derived from the Hebrew name, even as the Arabs who have name and surname[104] separately.

He married my mother in Baghdad. She came from Basra and was one of three distinguished sisters[B92] well-versed in Torah studies and Hebrew writing, daughters of Isḥāq Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Baṣrī al-Lewi, i.e. of the tribe of Levi, a tribe of good lineage, for Moses

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101. Nov. 8, 1163. The vision occurred on Thursday night; the conversion took place on Friday.

102. After Koran 9:130.

103. A frequent Koran image.

104. An Arabic name may include, apart from the name proper (*ism*), a surname of relationship (*kunya*) and a surname (*laqab*). In this case Rāb is the *laqab*, Abū-l-Baqā' the *kunya*. The latter is not an indication of relationship proper (father of . .) in this case but an appellation — *the long lived.*

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sprang from it. This Isḥāq was a man of learning and taught in Baghdad. Their mother was Nafīsa, the daughter of Abū Naṣr al-Dāwudī, one of their well-known dignitaries whose progeny still dwell in Egypt to this day.

My mother was named after the mother of the Prophet Samuel. This prophet was born after his mother had been barren, childless, and had not conceived for a number of years, not until she prayed to the Lord requesting a son who would become a devotee of God. A pious man, a spiritual leader by the name of Eli, blessed her, and she gave birth to Samuel the prophet. All this is described in the beginning of the Book of the Prophet Samuel. Now my mother had been with my father for some time, childless, until she was filled with fear of her barrenness, and saw a dream in which she was reciting the prayer of Hannah, mother of Samuel, to the Lord. She then vowed that if she had a son she would name him Samuel, as her name was the name of Samuel's mother. It came to pass that after that she conceived [25b] and I was born; she called me Samuel, which in Arabic is Samau'al. My father called me Abū Naṣr which was the *Kunya* of my grandfather.[B93]

My father had me learn Hebrew writing, and then study the Torah and the commentaries until, by the age of thirteen, I had mastered this knowledge. Then he introduced me to the study of Indian reckoning[B94] and the solution of equations under Shaykh Abū-l-Hasan Ibn ad-Daskarī,[B95] and the study of medicine under the philosopher Abū 'l-Barakāt Ḥibat-Allāh Ibn ᶜAlī,[B96] and the observation of current surgical operations and the treatment of diseases as practiced by my maternal uncle Abū-l-Fatḥ Ibn al-Basrī. As to Indian reckoning and astronomical tables, I mastered them in less than a year, by the age of fourteen, and at the same time continued to study medicine and to observe the treatment of diseases. Then I studied administrative accounting[105] and the science of surveying under Shaykh Abū-l-Muẓaffar ash-Shahrazūrī,[B97] as well as algebra and equations also under him and the kātib[106] Ibn Abī Turāb as well. I then frequented Master Daskarī and Abū-l-Ḥasan Ibn an-Naqqāsh[B98] for the study of geometry, until I had solved the problems from Euclid that they used to solve. At the same time, I was so devoted to medicine that I absorbed whatever I could from the above-mentioned two

105. Much in vogue at the time both as a general educational subject and as training for employment.

106. Scribe, secretary, official.

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teachers of this science. There remained parts of the Book of Euclid,[B99] the book of al-Wāsiṭī on arithmetic and the *Book Al-Badiᶜ* on algebra by al-Karkhī.[B100] But I could find nobody who knew anything of these books, or beyond these, on the mathematical sciences, e.g., the book of Shujāᶜ Ibn Aslam[B101] on algebra and others.

My passion and love for these studies were so strong that I would forget food and drink when pondering on some of them. I secluded myself in a room for a time and analyzed all those [26a] books and expounded them; I refuted their authors wherever they committed mistakes; demonstrated the errors of their compilers; and undertook to verify or correct where other authors had failed. I found Euclid's arrangement of the figures in his book faulty for by rearranging them I could dispense with some as superfluous; this — after the book of Euclid had been considered the acme by the other geometricians, so much so that they had introduced nothing new either by changing Euclid's set of figures or by eliminating any of them. All this I achieved in that year, namely, by the age of eighteen. Since that year my writings in these sciences followed one another continuously down to the present. God has revealed to me much that had been withheld from my predecessors among the eminent scholars; all this I put into shape for the benefit of whomever it might reach.

During that time my only source of income was from the practice of medicine. In this, I enjoyed a great measure of success for, with divine support, I was able to distinguish a curable disease from an incurable. I never treated a patient but with the result that he recovered. Whenever I felt disinclined to treat a patient, all the other physicians would fail to cure him and would give up his case.

Praise to God for His bounty and great favor.

After extensive readings of books in Iraq, Syria, Adharbayjan and Kuhistan,[107] I acquired the method of extracting much knowledge and of discovering medicines which, as far as I know, I was the first to find: such as the preparation I called "the penetrating rescuer" because it cures several serious diseases within a fraction of a day, and other preparations which I compounded that were useful and healing to men, by the grace of God Almighty.

Before I took up these sciences, that is, in my twelfth and thirteenth years, [26b] I was fascinated by records of the past and by stories, and was eager to learn what had happened in ancient times, and

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107. Persian province (s.w. of Khurasan).

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to know what had occurred in ages past. I therefore perused the various compilations of stories and anecdotes. Then I passed on from that stage to an infatuation with books of entertainment and long tales; later still—to the larger compilations such as the tales on ᶜAntar,[108] Dhū-l-Himma, al-Baṭṭāl, Iskandar dhū-l-Qarnayn, the stories of ᶜAnqā', Ṭaraf b. Lūdhān, etc.[B102] Upon reading these I recognized that most of [the material was derived] from the works of the historians. Therefore I sought the real historical accounts, and my interest shifted to the histories, of which I read the book of Abū ᶜAlī b. Miskawayh entitled *Experiences of the Nations*,[109] the *History* of at-Ṭabarī[110] and other historical works.

In these history books there passed before me accounts of the Prophet — God's prayer and blessing upon him — his conquests, the miracles God had performed for him, and the wonders he was given to work; divine victory and help which were granted him in the battles of Badr,[111] Khaybar[112] and others; the story of his beginnings in orphanhood and wretchedness; the animosity of his own people toward him while he stood up to his adversaries over a period of many years, rejecting openly their faith and calling them to his own faith, until God permitted him to migrate to Medina; what calamities befell his active enemies, and how they were slain under his eyes by the swords of his supporters at Badr and in other battles; the revelation of the miraculous verse foretelling the defeat of the Persians who, though headed by mighty Rustum with many thousands of a very great and powerful army, fled before the small and weak column under Saᶜd b. abī Waqqāṣ;[113] the dreams of Chosroes Anushirwān;[114] the collapse of Byzantium and the destruction of its armies at the hands of Abū ᶜUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ,[115] — God's mercy

108. The works enumerated here are cycles of heroic tales, somewhat reminiscent of western knighthood lore.

109. Died 421/1030.

110. 224-310/839-923.

111. The *charisma* of the Prophet is revealed in his miraculous victories, such as his first victory over the Meccans at Badr (624).

112. An oasis north of Medina, settled by Jews; occupied by Muslim forces in 628.

113. The beginning of Koran 30 mentions that Byzantium, though smitten, will again be victorious. This reference to the Byzantine-Persian struggle (of 612-626, esp. the campaign of 622-626) was uttered in Mecca. Sa'd was the leader of the Muslim force that wrested Iraq from the Persian forces in 633.

114. Legend has it that when Muhammad was born, the palace of the Persian ruler shook, and the thousand year old eternal fire of the Zoroastrian cult was extinguished; a lake was flooded; the high priest saw in his dream a camel overrunning lands, etc. (Cf. Ṭabarī *Annales* p. 981.)

115. Leader of the Muslim conquest of Syria (634).

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upon him. Then I read about the governance of Abū Bakr[116] and ᶜUmar,[117] their justice [27a] and asceticism. At the same time, engrossed in the accounts of ministers and secretaries, I acquired from this wide reading of the stories and reports about them, and from their own words, a mastery of eloquence, and a knowledge of rhetoric to an extent that evoked the praise of stylists and the admiration of rhetoricians, and that will be recognized by those who read any of the books I wrote on some scientific discipline.

I saw the miracle of the Koran, which human eloquence cannot rival, and well did I recognize the truth of its miraculous character.[118] Then, after I had trained my mind on mathematical sciences, especially on geometry with its demonstrations, I asked myself about the differences among men in religious faiths and tenets. I received the greatest impulse to inquire into the subject from reading the epistle of Bardhawayh the physician, in the book *Kalīla wa Dimna,*[119] and what I found therein. I realized then that reason is the supreme arbiter and that its rule should be established generally in the affairs of this, our world. For were it not that reason directs us to follow the prophets and apostles and to trust the elders and authorities of the past, we would not accept anything transmitted on their authority. I realized that if it is reason that is at the root of the adherence to the religions inherited from earlier generations, and at the root of following the prophets, it is then necessary to make reason the supreme arbiter in this whole sphere. And if we make *reason* supreme judge of what we learn by transmission from our ancestors, we realize that reason does not oblige us to accept ancestral tradition without examining it as to its soundness, merely because it has been handed down from ancestors, but obliges us to accept tradition only if it be a verity *per se* and if there is proof of its soundness. Mere reference to fathers and ancestry, however, is no proof. For if it were, it would serve all the infidel rivals as well, e.g., the Christians. Thus, they have it from ancestral tradition that Jesus is the son of God and upon him depend sustenance, privation, injury, benefaction.[119a] If following the fathers and ancestors were

116. The first caliph (632-34).
117. The second caliph (634-44).
118. Cf. n. 22.
119. The Indian fables (Panchatantra) in the Arabic version by Ibn al Muqaffaᶜ (who was put to death in 760); to this work was attached the autobiographic note of the humanist sceptic, the physician Bardawayh.
119a. Literally: He is the one who sustains, etc.

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to prove the truth of what has been handed down on their behalf, this would oblige us to accept as true the tenets of the Christians and Magians.[120] [27b] Should it be claimed that emulation of the ancestors be correct only in the case of the Jews, this would not be accepted unless the Jews proved that their ancestors were wiser than those of other peoples. The Jews may make such a claim with respect to their fathers and ancestors, but all reports about their ancestors give the Jews the lie in this matter. Once we abandon partisanship in their favor, their ancestors are put on the same footing as those of other peoples. If the fathers of the Christians—and others—transmitted from their fathers such unbelief and error as reason avoids and sound human nature shuns, then it is not impossible that what the Jews have transmitted on behalf of their fathers be of the same nature.

When I realized that Jews and non-Jews are on a par with respect to transmission of ancestral tradition, I realized that the Jews had no true proof in their possession about the prophethood of Moses other than the evidence of the chain of transmission, which is available for Jesus and Muhammad just as it is for Moses — peace upon them all; that if the chain of transmission serves as confirmation, then all three are right and the prophethood of all of them is true. I also realized that I had not seen Moses with my own eyes nor had I witnessed his miracles nor those of any other prophet, and that, but for tradition and our following in the footsteps of the transmitters, we would know nothing of any of this. Then I realized that a reasonable person cannot believe one and disbelieve another of these prophets, not having seen any of them nor having witnessed the circumstances of any; except [that he may trust] tradition, whose evidence of transmission, however, is available for all three prophets. It is therefore neither reasonable nor wise that one of them be accepted as true, and the others rejected as false. Rather, it is rationally incumbent either to believe all of them or to reject all of them.

As to disbelieving all, reason does not dictate that either. For we find that they all preached lofty morals, appealed for the virtues and against the vices, and regulated the world in a fashion [28a] beneficial to mankind.

Thus, trenchant proof convinced me of the prophethood of Jesus and of Muhammad, and I believed in them. For some time, out of consideration for my father, I held this belief without performing

120. The Zoroastrians.

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the Muslim rites. For he loved me intensely, could hardly live without me, and was very much attached to me. He was careful about my upbringing, occupying me since my early youth with disciplines based on logical demonstration, and training my thought and mind in arithmetic and geometry, the two disciplines whose mind-developing quality was praised by Plato.[B103]

For a long time I was not granted divine guidance, and this uncertainty, i.e. the consideration for my father, did not abandon me until travels separated me from him and my abode became distant from his. Yet I persisted in my respect for him and in the effort to avoid distressing him on my account.

And the time of divine guidance arrived. The divine call reached me in a vision of the Prophet, in a dream, the night of Friday, the ninth of Dhū-l-Ḥijja in the year 558. This was in Marāgha in Adharbayjān.

Description of what I saw

This is the first dream I saw.

I saw myself in the vast open space of a verdant countryside. In the east loomed a mighty tree, and people were hurrying toward it. So I asked one of them what was the matter with the people. Said he: The prophet Samuel is sitting under the tree and the people are saluting him. I was glad to hear that and went toward the tree. In its shade I found a corpulent, radiant, grave old man with very white hair, awe-inspiring, holding a book into which he was looking. Then I saluted him saying in the Arabic tongue: "Peace upon thee, O prophet of God." He turned to me smiling, and said to me kindly: "And upon thee peace, O namesake. Sit down, so we may present a matter to thee." I sat down before him. [28b] He then passed to me the book which was in his hand and said: "Read what thou findest before thee." I found before me this verse from the Torah:[121]

נביא אקים להם מקרב אחיהם כמוך אליו ישמעון

meaning: *I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren like unto thee; in him they shall believe.*[B104] This is an exhortation from God Almighty unto Moses. I knew that the Jews say that this verse was a revelation concerning the prophet Samuel because he

121. Deut. 18:18; the last two words are from Verse 15. In the original the last word means: ye shall hearken.

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was like Moses, by which they mean that Samuel was of the tribe of Levi, the one to which Moses belonged. When I found this verse of the Torah before me, I read it and thought that he meant to boast that God had mentioned him in the Torah and had announced his advent to Moses. So I said: "May it bring thee joy, O prophet of God, that God has distinguished thee therein even unto this rank." However, he looked at me angrily and said: "But is it to me that God alluded herein? O, thou clever one, of what benefit were to you then the geometric demonstrations?" So I said: "O prophet of God, but whom was God referring to thereby?" Said he: To the one referred to in the verse:[122]

הופיע מהר פארן

The meaning of this is an allusion to a prophecy that will be revealed, it was promised, on the mountains of Paran.[B105] When he told me that, I realized he meant Muhammad — may God pray over him and bless him — because he is the one sent from the mountains of Paran, i.e. the mountains of Mecca; for the Torah says literally that Paran is the dwelling of the people of Ishmael, namely in the verse:[123]

וישב במדבר פארן

meaning: *And he dwelt in the wilderness of Paran,* i.e. Ishmael the son of Abraham, the friend of God — God's prayer and blessing upon them. Thereupon he again turned to me and said: "Dost thou not know that God did not send me to abrogate anything of the Law but sent me to remind them of it, to revive its precepts, and to save them from the Philistines?" I said then: "Yes, O prophet of God." Said he: "What need have they that their Lord should enjoin them to follow one who is neither abrogating their religion nor altering [29a] their law? Dost thou think they needed that God enjoin them to accept the prophethood of Daniel or Jeremiah or Ezekiel?" I said then: "No, indeed, no need at all." He then took the scripture from my hand and departed angrily.

I was frightened by his anger and alarmed by his exhortation. I awoke in terror and sat up. It was dawn, and the lamp was burning at its brightest. I recollected the entire dream. I saw it clearly with nothing of it lost. I said: Verily this is an act of grace from God — may he be praised and exalted; an exhortation that is to remove the doubt that has been preventing me from professing the true creed and openly embracing Islam. I repented thus before God and asked

122. Deut. 33:2.
123. Gen. 21:21.

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to be forgiven, and prayed ardently for the Apostle of God, Muhammad the chosen — may God pray over him and bless him. I performed the ritual ablution and prayed in several prostrations to God. Great was my relief and joy at the guidance revealed unto me. Then I sat up meditating, but drowsiness overwhelmed me while I was pondering, and I fell asleep.[B106]

I saw myself sitting in a busy street unknown to me when somebody came over to me. He was dressed in the garments of the Ṣūfīs[124] and the garb of the poor. He did not greet me but said:

"Obey the Apostle of God."[125]

Overawed, I got up to go with him; joyfully I hurried, happy at the prospect of meeting the Prophet.

He walked in front of me, and I followed him until he reached the gate of a house. He entered it and invited me to enter. I walked in behind him, following him through a long corridor which was dark, but only slightly so. When I reached the end of the corridor and realized that I was about to meet the Prophet, I was overawed and began to prepare for meeting and greeting him. I remembered I had read in the accounts about him that when he was met in company they used to say: "Peace upon you and God's mercy and blessings"; but when he was found alone they used to say: "Peace upon thee, [29b] O Messenger of God, and God's mercy and blessings." I now decided that I should greet him with the general salutation that would include the company, too, for I considered that more proper and suitable.

Then I approached the court of the house. Opposite the corridor there was a lengthy chamber, and to the left of the entrance another chamber, and there were no other rooms beside these two in the house. In each of these there were two men, of whose appearance I am not certain now, but it seems to me that most of them, though young, seemed to be preparing for travel. Some were dressed for travel, with arms near by.

Then I saw the Messenger of God standing between the two chambers, i.e., in the corner of that side of the courtyard. He seemed occupied, as if just finishing something and turning to begin something else. I entered unexpectedly just as he was about to start. He

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124. Ascetics and mystics, members of the mystics' orders. Their garb is 'the garb of the poor'.

125. Lit. 'Respond.' A turn of speech meaning: follow me (or do as ordered) in response to the command of . . .

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was clad in white, his turban was moderately elegant; on his neck was a white cloak. He was of medium height, distinguished looking, corpulent, his colour medium between pale and ruddy, and slightly swarthy; his eyebrows and eyes were black, and his moustache and beard were of medium length as was his hair; and his features too were of medium size, neither long nor short.[B107] When I entered and saw him, he turned to me, saw me, and came toward me smiling and benevolent. In awe of him I forgot how I had decided to salute him, and addressed him with an individual salutation saying: "Peace upon thee, O Messenger of God, and God's mercy and blessings," thus excluding the company, as my vision and my heart turned exclusively to him. He then said: "And upon thee peace, and God's mercy and blessings." There was no interval or stop between my salutation and my advance toward him; I rushed toward him and stretched out [30a] my hand toward his. He stretched out his noble hand to me and put it in my hand. I said: "I testify that there is but one God and that thou art (*annaka*) the Messenger of God." For it came to my mind that some philologists maintain that proper names are the most expressively defined nouns, while others say that personal pronouns are most expressive, which is correct. For the kāf of my word *annaka* includes nobody but the person thus addressed, as it applies to him exclusively.[B108] I saw he was filled with joy. Then he sat down in the corner between the two chambers and I sat down in front of him. He said: "Prepare for the trip with us to Ghumdān[B109] for the conquest."[126]

When he said that, it was my impression that he was referring to the great city which is the seat of the emperor of China, and to the fact that Islam had not yet prevailed over it. I had read that the nearest road in use to China was through the Green Sea, which is the most stormy and most dangerous of seas. When I heard that word from the Prophet, I was seized with fear of a voyage at sea, and said to myself: "The wise do not travel by sea, how then shall I travel by sea?" Then, also immediately, I said to myself: "Praise God, now that I believe in this Prophet and owe him allegiance, shall I not follow him when he commands? What sort of allegiance is it that I have just sworn to him?" I resolved to comply and obey. Then another thought occurred to me, and I said: "If the Apostle of God and his companions are with us — then land and sea will submit to us and we need fear no danger." I felt relief

126. Probably Khumdān, the capital of China, "on the shore of the Green Sea."

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at that thought; I was filled with certainty and acceptance. I recollect that these thoughts and ideas occurred to me whilst I was before the Prophet, in no time, that is to say, without any interval delaying my answer to the Prophet. I could not have been any quicker as I said to him: "I hear and obey, O Apostle of God." Then he said: "With God's blessing."

Then I rose and left [30b] and I did not find in the corridor the darkness that had been there when I entered. When I left the house and had walked for a while, I found myself, as it were, in the market place of Marāgha, in the spot between the row of the money-changers and the Madrasa Qadawīya, and I noticed three persons in Ṣūfī garb, the raiment of ascetics. One of them had on his body a waistcoat of coarse black wool, and a headdress of the same kind. In one hand he had a bow folded in shabby felt; in the other, a javelin with a palm-stem handle. Another of them was girded with a sword in a scabbard made of a palm branch. Ever since I was young and had read the stories of the rise of Muslim power it had been impressed upon my imagination how the companions of the Prophet were weak, poor, and without equipment except for the like of what we have just mentioned, and yet were victorious over powerful and huge armies and numerous cavalry. So when I saw the three persons I said: These are the warriors and conquerors in the holy war, these are the companions of the Prophet; with these shall I travel and go forth to conquer. Tears rolled from my eyes in my sleep, so great was my joy and happiness over them.

Then I awoke, though it was not yet dawn. I performed the ritual ablution, and said the dawn prayer. I was very eager now to proclaim the creed and to make public my conversion to the faith of Islam.

I was at the time in Marāgha in Adharbayjan, guest of the glorious master Fakhr ad-Dīn Abū-l-ᶜIzz ᶜAbd-al-ᶜAziz b. Maḥmūd b. Saᶜd b. ᶜAlī b. Ḥamīd al-Mudarī — God's mercy upon him. He had suffered from a disease but God had restored him to health. I had been friendly with him even before. I came to him in the early hours of the aforementioned Friday and informed him that God had lifted the veil from me and had granted me his guidance. How great was his joy [31a] that day at hearing the news! He said: "By God, this is what I have always wished for, and hoped for, and for a long time I have discussed it with the supreme judge, Ṣadr ad-Dīn, and both of us have regretted that your scholarship and virtues should adorn a non-

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Muslim; praise God for the rightness and guidance He has inspired you with, and for thus answering our prayer. But tell me, how did God reveal this unto you and how did He facilitate it, after denial and delay?" I said: "This is something that God has injected into my soul by inspiration. However, I had known the idea and its rational proof and demonstration even before — its proof is in the Torah — but out of consideration for my father, and thus shunning divine reproof, I was reluctant to be the cause of his grief. But now this doubt has been lifted. Stretch out your hand, and I shall testify that there is but one God and that Muhammad is the Messenger of God." The sāhīb, in great happiness, stood up trembling with joy — before that he could stand up only with difficulty. He left me, inviting me to be seated until his return, bestowed upon me the finest of clothes, had me carried on the noblest of steeds, and ordered his retinue to rush to the mosque in front of me. The sāhīb himself had gone ahead to the khaṭīb[127] and ordered him to bide his time and to wait until I appeared at the mosque. For it took the tailors a while to complete the sewing of the jubba[128] the sāhīb had ordered to be cut. I set out for the mosque as the community was waiting for me. Upon my arrival the congregation broke into a loud "God is great!" and the great mosque shook with the prayer for the Messenger of God. Then the khatīb ascended the *minbar,*[129] and the judge, the prince of preachers, Ṣadr ad-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Abdarrahīm b. Yel,[B110] delivered a sermon, speaking at length in my praise, and on the praise due to God for having granted me alertness and guidance. [31b] His eloquence on the subject was exquisite. For the most part the assembly was occupied with myself.[B111]

In the evening of that day, i.e. the night of the feast of sacrifice,[130] I began writing the arguments for silencing the Jews and compiled them in a book I entitled Ifḥām al Yahūd (*Silencing the Jews*). The book became well known, its fame was widespread, and numerous copies of it were made under my supervision in many places in the regions of Mosul, Diyārbakr, Iraq, and Persia. Later I added to it many sections of polemics against the Jews on the basis of the Torah, so that it became an excellent work on polemics against the Jews, the like of which had never been produced in Islam.

127. Preacher.
128. A garment.
129. Pulpit.
130. ʿīd al-naḥr or ʿīd al-aḍḥā is celebrated on the tenth of the month of Dhū-l-ḥijja. On that day the pilgrims to Mecca offer their sacrifice in the valley of Minā.

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But as to the first and second dreams, I did not mention them for four full years either to the ṣāḥib or to anyone else in Marāgha. That was for two reasons. Firstly, I was loath to mention a matter that could not be proved, lest the mind of the listener should be prompt to deny it as something extraordinary or unusual. For a sensible man is loath to expose himself to refutation, be it open or secret. Secondly, I was loath to have the report of the two dreams reach anyone in the land who was envious of me on account of the scholarship and esteem God had bestowed upon me, lest this report be used to stir up ill-will against me and contempt for my conduct, and lest the ill-wishers say: "He left his religion on account of a dream he had seen; he was deceived by jumbled dreams." I therefore concealed it until the book, *Silencing the Jews,* had become well known, its copies numerous and read by a great number of people. When people learned the truth, i.e., that my conversion from the faith of the Jews was by proof and demonstration and trenchant arguments which I had known, and that I had been concealing this and refraining from disclosing it for a time, out of consideration and reverence for my father, *then* only did I reveal the story of the two dreams [32a] and explain that they were an admonition from God urging me to proceed without any delay, be it on account of my father or for any other reason.

I wrote a letter to my father who was then in Aleppo, whilst I was in Ḥiṣn Kayfā,[B112] and I explained to him in that letter a number of arguments and proofs which I knew he would not deny and could not refute. I informed him also of the two dreams. He set out for Mosul in order to meet me, but in Mosul he was suddenly stricken with a disease, and died.

The reader of these pages should now understand that it was not the dream that had induced me to abandon my first faith. A sensible man will not be deceived about his affairs by dreams and visions, without proof or demonstration. But I had known for a long time the proofs and demonstrations and arguments for the prophethood of our master Muhammad — may God pray over him and grant him peace. It was those proofs and demonstrations that were the cause for my conversion and for taking the right path. As to the dream, it served merely to alert and to prod me out of my procras-

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tination and inertia, toward declaring, now that my father was dead, the cause of truth.[131]

Praise be to God for the conversion to Islam and the true creed, for the light of faith and guidance. I ask Him to direct me toward what pleases Him in Muhammad and his kin.

131. Or: the true creed.

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AN ANONYMOUS EPISTLE TO SAMAU'AL

[T 21] In the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate.

Text of a query received by Samau'al from one of the "philosophizing" heretics (Zindīq).[B113]

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate.

The conversion of our master — the spiritual leader, theologian, scholar, unique and outstanding, mainstay of the faith, sun of Islam, one and only in his age, king of the sages, may God perpetuate [T 22] support for him, and subdue anyone envious of him — from the Israelite faith to the Muslim faith was either a matter of caprice, inclination, or folly, or else it was through proof and demonstration. But caprice, inclination, or folly would ill suit a man like you and would not be fitting in a man who has reached your degree of learning, especially with regard to belief and religion.[132]

Should you say that it was through proof and demonstration, inquiry and speculation, then, if this inquiry and speculation were the result of some new idea that influenced you at a certain time, perhaps another new idea may occur to you which will prove the first one false. But if this inquiry was undertaken in the original state of mind, then was there no such inquiry before that time? Perhaps, if you continued your inquiry and speculation, you might learn that the truth is in a creed other than the one you have embraced.

Should you say: I know that truth is in this religion — through proof and demonstration, we would say: by what method? Furthermore, nobody knows that one faith is truer than another faith unless he has studied and made a thorough investigation of all the faiths and perused all the texts of their masters, and all their arguments. If you claim to have done so — that is absurd, for a lifetime would not suffice to read all the texts of all the masters of all the re-

132. Samau'al is addressed in the third person, which has been changed in the translation to the second person.

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ligions and sects. Perhaps, if you were asked about the nature of the religion of the Magians, and the dualists and the Brahmans,[133] B114 you would not be an authority in the study of their tenets.

Also, the religion to which you have been converted is divided into many rites (madhāhib). With which one, then, did you become affiliated and which one did you choose?

If you have not yet become affiliated with any of them, then you are not yet a Muslim. Again, if you have given preference to one of the rites, then — by what method? If you claim that by argumentation — that is absurd because it would require you to have perused all the expositions of the masters of the rites of ash-Shāfiᶜī, Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik, and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.[134]

If you have given preference to one of the rites at your pleasure, by caprice, or merely by following an authority, that is not what behooves the learned and the wise; in such a case, the royal dignity departs from them.[135] B115

The opinion of our master, the religious leader and theologian, in considering and answering this, will be greatly appreciated.

133. The Brahmins were supposed to deny the need for prophets. Under this guise rationalist theories could be propounded. (God endowed man with reason which suffices to distinguish between right and wrong.)

134. The heads of the four main schools of Islamic law: Ash-Shāfiʿī 150/767—204/820, Abū-Hanīfa ca. 80/699—150/767, Mālik b. Anas d. 179/795, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal 164/780—241/855.

135. This seems to be a reference to a characterization of the philosopher as possessor of royal dignity. It is alluded to also towards the end of the reply.

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THE REPLY

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate.

Foolish people will say: what has turned them from the Qibla which they have been observing? Say: to God belongs the East and the West. He guideth whom He willeth to a straight path.[136]

I have considered what is mentioned by this opponent who is asking about what is none of his concern. Let him know that God [T23] guided me with clear proof and solid argument; it was not a matter of following a teacher or parent.

As to his query on the time of my profession of the Islamic tenets, whether that followed upon my becoming a believer or whether there was an interval of time between the two (i.e., the belief and the conversion) during which interval this faith was hidden or undeclared —this is a form of meddlesomeness. For Islam is pleasing to God and to the believers in either case.

As to attributing the delay in professing Islam to folly — how does he know that the delay in professing and in divulging the conversion was not due to purposeful timing, or to caution against an enemy? However, we declare before God we are innocent of any slackness in responding to Him who called us toward the truth, once we recognized it. But as soon as God granted me insight and brought unto me the light of divine guidance, I hastened to join the community of truth.

As to his saying: Just as this has struck him as a new idea, so another idea may occur to him that will prove the first one false, the answer thereto is that this is a false analogy, and idle talk. For this objection could be raised against one converted to a [new] religion through investigation and speculation and then converted from this second religion to a third after further inquiry and speculation. But it does not apply to one who rejected the absurdities rooted in his imagination since childhood, as a result of ancestral concoction, which he had become familiar with and accustomed to, but which for him did not become valid through investigation and speculation; nor to one who later, when he happened to engage in intellectual activity and study, was led by reason and valid proofs toward the truth. For that which he abandoned and gave up, he

136. Koran 2:136. *Qibla*: The place in the direction of which one turns in prayer (Jerusalem, Mecca).

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had not been led to by speculation. How, then, can the doubt mentioned apply to such a man?

As to his saying: Did he investigate all the faiths — I do not have to do so because the truth is one and is not plural. Consequently, when the proof led me to the true faith, then from its truth followed the falseness of all the opposing faiths. There was no need to peruse everything written by their masters.

As to his saying: Had he inquired he might have learned that the truth is not in what he maintains — this is absurd, because truth is not plural.

As to his question by which method I became convinced of the call of Muhammad — may God pray over him and his kin and grant them peace — the evidence of these mighty nations for his prophethood, coupled with the great miracle uncontested of the glorious Koran, i.e., the eloquence of the Koran, led me toward that; and this was made certain by allusions, referring to Muhammad, which I understood from (reading) the Torah. But the former (i.e., the evidence of these mighty nations) is the original argument.

As to his query on the Islamic rite that [T 24] I joined, and his contention that I am obliged to consider all the rites of the *imams*, this is a moot point that does not apply to me and a question that is none of his concern. However, my answer to it is the very first retort, namely, that proof led me to a rite in whose truth I believe, and I have no need to examine any other because truth is not plural with respect to rite, just as it is not plural with respect to faith. Moreover, the difference between the Muslim authorities on rites is merely on secondary matters and minor points, not on the basic creed, nor to the extent that they would anathematize one another. I mean the followers of ash-Shāfiʿī, Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik, and Ahmad b. Ḥanbal[137] — may God be gratified with them — not the originators of unlawful innovations.

But this inquirer into what is none of his concern, in taking this position, is bent upon strengthening the Jewish arguments I have demolished. In his support of the Jews, he busies himself with a query that is none of his concern. For I have shown in the *Silencing* (Iflām) the corruption of their belief and the contradictions of their lore. This is preferable to perpetuation of the doubts of the heretics and the ravings of the infidel philosophers — who should

137. Cf. no. 134.

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be slain — in the religion I abandoned and in the one to which God guided me.

As to the conclusion of his speech, this is truly pointless. Kings and rulers are in the habit of apportioning to everyone that which they think he deserves, thus keeping the high positions out of the reach of the unfit. Envy serves but to augment man's obscurity. As the poet says:[B116]

> If unnoticed I be by the fool's mind,
> It is just because his eyeball is blind.
> —And, farewell!

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B NOTES

B1. Abrogation is an internal Islamic problem since in the Koran certain passages are supposed to abrogate other passages. Furthermore, Islam insists that the older monotheistic religions have been abrogated with the rise of Islam.

Christianity considered Judaism abrogated by the New Testament dispensation. This attitude is continued in Islam and turned also against Christianity. The Jews remained the most stubborn opponents of the abrogation theory. The polemic, theological and philosophic literature of the Jews dealt with the subject extensively, considering it inconceivable that God should contradict his own commands. Cf. SPL 322 ff.; Clair Tisdall ch. 3.

B2. The translation is in the main Saadia's. It attempts to avoid the possible anthropomorphism of the expression in the original "for in the *image of God* made He man":

ان يكون سافك دم الانسان بانسان مثله دمه يسفك
لان بصورة شريفة مسلطا صنعه •

In Gen. 1:26, the translation has بصورتنا كشبهنا

but in the next verse بصورة شريفة

Cf. I H 141, Paragraph 1.

B3. I-H p. 100 insists on the time limit for the validity of the law: the precepts are for definite acts over a definite period.

B4. Cf. Saadia *Amanāt*, ch. 3.

B5. The argument against the acceptance of ancestral tradition as decisive is developed in various quarters. Rāzī (IX-Xc.) cites it (Kraus in *RSO* 1935, pp. 358, 367) as part and parcel of anti-traditionalism with an anti-religious animus; Karaites use it to pave the way to objections against the rabbinic lore (Qirqisani 15 f., Nemoy *Anthology* 118). Cf. Rosenthal *Ar. Autob.* p. 28 n. 1.

B6. Qarāfī 64: the vigorous literary production of Islam shows Islam is more universalist, and perfect. Better fruits point to better plants. (Cf. Josephus, *Against Apion II*, 14, 20: "We have not produced any geniuses, for example, in arts and crafts, or eminent sages." Cf. Tcherikover 368; Origenes *Contra Celsum* Iv 31.) Moses b. Ezra in his K. al Muḥāḍara (in the chapter edited by Kokovtseff p. 214 end, in Halper's Hebrew rendering p. 53) acknowledges the excellence of Arabic and the wealth of Arabic literature, and indeed finds it all foretold in the Bible; also 205/39, 210/47; that is why Arabian Jews were at an advantage 212/49. Ibn 'Abdūn (§206 p. 128): Scholarly books should not be sold to infidels who might translate them and attribute to their own people the works which have been written by Muslims.

B7. This victorious conclusion had already been drawn by Bāqillānī, *Tamhīd* (Cairo, 1947) p. 131 sq.

B8. Qirqisānī similarly stresses the contradictions of the rabbanite tenets on these subjects.

B9. The first part of the verse is addressed to *you*, the second to *thee*. Here the plural only appears. This occurs also in Saadia's version and indeed in the Targum Saadia:

فجميع ما آمركم به فاحفظوه واعملوا به • لا تزيدوا عليه ولا تنقصوا منه •

B10. Whilst the Mu'tazila and the Shī'a were inclined to accept *badā'*, Jews were opposed to the notion Cf. E.I., s.v.

B11. A classical passage, esp. in Christian polemics with Jews. Cf. B. Blumenkranz 227-237. Saadia

لا يزول القضيب من آل يهوده والراسم من تحت امره •
الى ان يجيء الذي هو (ـ الامر) له واليه تجتمع الشعوب •

B12. Cf. S. Krauss *Leben* esp. 189, 280; id. in *REJ* 103 (1938); Qirqisānī J. 42 f.; Ginzberg V, 15 f.; Nemoy *Anthology* p. 50 f.; R. Travers Herford in *UJE*

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v. VI; L. Ginzberg *Geniza Studies* I, 324-338; Blumenkranz 169 ff. M. Goldstein, *Jesus in Jewish Tradition* (New York, 1950).

B13. *JE* XI, 262-64; Rashi on *Sanh.* 60a, Erub. 18b.

B14. Baqillānī is the best known authority on the subject. Cf. the introduction by G. E. von Grunebaum in *A Tenth Century Document of Arab Literary Theory and Criticism* (Chicago, 1950), and his remarks in *Medieval Islam* (Chicago, 1947) 96 ff. Among Muslims, objections, doubts and controversies on the subject appeared from time to time. A Fischer on Maᶜarrī *Berichte u.d. Verh. d. Sächs. Ak. d. Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Kl. 1942. R. Hartmann in *ZDMG*, 98, 396 sq., Kraus, in *RSO* 1935, 367 ff. Yehuda Ha-Levi, *Khazari* (216/191) seems to claim this quality for the Mishna. Qirqisani 298 f. SPL 315; Schreiner *Polemik* 663 sq.

B15. Further J. Bergmann *Apologetik* esp. 99 ff., 113 f.; S. Kraus *Leben* 161.

B16. On *aᶜlām,* biblical passages cited to prove that Muhammad and Islam had been alluded to in the ancient scriptures, cf. SPL 325-9; Clair Tisdall ch. 7; Fritsch 74-96; Ali Tabari, chs. 9-10; von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam,* 92f; Schreiner *Polemik* 625 sq.

The difficulty was: if the bible is not a revealed book but a forgery, how can it contain announcements about the prophet of Islam? This plagued all the Muslim authors. Samau'al explains that by God's foresight, some passages have remained that may be quoted. Qirqisani (295) says that Muslim scholars shrink from quoting such announcements that are left to the vulgar; similar was the opinion of Maimonides in his *Epistle to Yemen.*

B17. Saadia's tr. Deut. 18:15 and 18

لكن اى نبى من بينكم من بعض اخوتك مثلى ينصبه لك الله ربك منه فاقبلوا .

... واى نبى انصبه لهم من بعض اخوتهم مثلك القنه كلامى فيخاطبهم بجميع ما آمره به .

Used as an argument for Jesus in Acts 3:22.

B18. Saadia

ومُر لقومك وقل لهم انكم جائزون في تخم اخوتكم بنى عسو المقيمين بسعير فسيخافونكم فاحذروا جدًا .

B19. Cf. Ginzberg III, 223 f.; J. E. s. v. Samuel (in post-biblical lore).

B20. Saadia:

وفى اسماعيل قد سمعتك ها انا قد باركته لأثمره واكثره جدًا جدًا .

B21. Saadia:

وقال اللهم الذي تجلى لنا من طور سينى واشرق بنوره من جبل سعير ولوح به من جبل فارن واتى ربوات القدس بشريعة نور من يمينه لهم .

Onkelos has Mi-Ṭūrā instead of Mi-Sinai [Ms. T. mentions that the passage is in the last weekly portion: it is in the one before the last].

B22. For *Sharāt* cf. Le Strange *Palestine* pp. 35, 39, 74, 287. For *Tur* cf. ib. 73; A. Jeffery *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān* (Baroda 1938) 206 f. The word occurs ten times in the Koran. On the nomenclature Edom-Ishmael cf. SPL 257, 316.

B23. Saadia

واقام في برية فارن واتخذت له امه زوجة من بلد مصر .

B24. Saadia's rendering

لانهم قبيل مضيع الحكمة وليس فيهم فهم .

i.e. with reference to Israel's enemies.

B25. Job as a gentile prophet: *Baba Batra f.* 15; Ginzberg VI 125 n. 727; *E.I.* s.v. Ayyūb.

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B26. Saadia		Hebrew
وليكن ... الدخيل والصريح	Lev. 24:22	כגר כאזרח יהיה
... مثلكم بين يدي الله	Num. 15:15	ככם יהיה לפני ה׳
كذلك شريعة واحدة وحكم واحد	Num. 15:16	תורה אחת ומשפט אחד
يكون لكم وللغريب الدخيل فيما بينكم		יהיה לכם ולגר הגר (אתכם)
في ما بينكم	Ex. 12:49	. . . בתוככם

B27. Cf. l. Elbogen, p. 16, 20f; *J. E.* s. v. Ahava Rabba.
Samau'al quotes the Eastern rite.

B28. Schreiner, of course, could not find such a prayer in the current prayer-book. The full text in the Saadia Siddur runs:

כל רודפי בניך ואויבי עדתך וצוררי נחלתך הבאים
אחריהם כלם כסמו ים אחד מהם לא נותר.

The text is also known from Geniza fragments: *REJ* 53 (1907) pp. 236, 241.

B29. I-Q 75 published by Goldziher in Kobak's *Jeschurun* IX 1873 p. 43 with a note suggesting that the passage may refer to the Midrash Rabba on the Song of Songs 1:14.

B30. The passage is reproduced by I-Q 41. Saadia's rendering:

ويسكن الذئب مع الحمل والنمر مع الجدي وربض ويجتمع العجل والضرغام والجاموس وصبي صغير يسوقهم

B31. This passage is referred to in an anonymous commentary (Oxf. Neubauer N 814) quoted by S. Fuchs in *Ha-Hoqer* (1893) 321 (and already referred to by Steinschneider in the Bodleian Cat.). Concerning Ex. 16:15

... ובזה תעה הפושע יהודה ישתחקו עצמותיו בספרו שקרא הכלמת היהודים והעתיק דברי הגביאים ללשון קדר ומכללם ביום ההוא יהיה ה׳ אחד וכדי למצוא תן בעיני בעלי דחו השניה.

B32. J. Z. Lauterbach, *Saadia . . . Psalmenuebersetzung und Commentar* (Berlin, 1903) p. XII and p. 39.

ولا يقولون الامم اين ربّهم

B33. This passage and part of the continuation appear also in I-Q 39-41.

B34. Cf. I-H. 223 f.

B35. The Hebrew text has כמעשה [not כמראה)
Saadia:

فنظروا نور الله اسرائيل ومن دونه كصنعة بياض المها وكذات السماء في النقاء .

B36. Saadia: تواعدهم الله بما صنعهم في الارض واوصل المشقّة الى قلوبهم .

J. Derenbourg points out in his annotation that in this verse, as well as in the following verse and in Gen. 27:42, Saadia gives this translation. He refers to the commentary on Ex. 32:14, to Ibn Ezra's comment and Ibn Janah's *Book of Roots* s.v. NḤM. The attempt to avoid the anthropopathic suggestion is evident in the translation. David ben Abraham al-Fāsī, the Karaite lexicographer of the second half of the Xc also distinguished between regret (*nadāma*) and withdrawal (*rujū°*). Cf. *The Hebrew Arabic Dictionary* . . . . ed. by Solomon L. Skoss v. II (New Haven, 1945) p. 265. But the question has ancient antecedents: it is discussed by Philo (Quod deus sit immutabilis §21), Celsus (ap. Orig. VI 58).

B37. Saadia's rendering. Cf. Davidson *Hiwi* N20.

B38: Saadia:

قبل الله القربان المرضى وقال الله من ذاته لا اعود ابداً ألعنُ الارض ايضا بسبب الانسان على ان خاطر قلب الانسان ردى من صغره ولا اعود زيادة اقتل كلّ حيّ كما صنعت .

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Opening deviation follows the Targum וקביל ה' ברעוא ית קרבניה
The words min dhātihi mean *li-nabiyyihi* i.e. His heart = His prophet. (Derenbourg).

B39. Saadia ثم كتب موسى هذه التوراة ودفعها الى الائمّة بنى لوى •

B40. Saadia فكتب موسى هذه التسبحة في ذلك الوقت ولقّنها بنى اسرائيل

B41. Saadia لكى تكون لى هذه التسبحة شاهدة عليهم •

B42. In the original Zar^{c}o. Saadia: אן לא תנסי מן אפואה נסלה.

B43. In the talmudic age similarly there was a view that only the ten commandments represented true revelation. To fight this view the daily reciting of the decalog was discarded. (j. Ber. 3c) Cf. Bergmann *Apologetik* 65; Baron II 381.

B44. Ginzberg IV, 304; VI 396 f. The point is discussed by I-H 113 end, 114. I-Q 40 f. Qarāfī 109 ff.

B45. This anticipation of modern biblical criticism is rooted in a widespread hellenistic attitude which possibly was based on some off-the-track Jewish interpretations of the role of Ezra. Cf. E. Stein *Bibelkritik*, esp. 28, 43; Ginzberg IV 355-58, VI 444 n. 35, 445; Baron II 156 sq. 382. Curiously Qirqisānī (p. 144) accuses the Rabbanites of asserting that the Torah is not the one revealed to Moses but was compiled by Ezra; they say (p. 149 f.) that there was only one copy in the hands of the priests etc. and refer to Deut. 31:9. I-H writes in the same vein in the following passages: 187, 198 f., esp. 199 end; of 117 end, 196 f. Ezra is bitterly denounced by I-H: 123, 129 lines 11-12. I-Q made use of the passage on Ezra. Yet many Muslims could not accept the forgery hypothesis. Cf. I-H 215; Tabarī II 669 ff. Ms. T. digresses when it mentions the priests. "By *kāhin* I do not mean what the Arabs call by that name—a soothsayer—for the Jews claim that the Aaronids were forbidden to practice soothsaying."

B46. Yāqut (ed. Wüstenfeld) I 668 f.; J. Obermeyer *Landschaft* 321-9; Y. *Ghanīma Nuzhat* 196-203; D. Sassoon *JQR* NS XVII 410 ff.; *Cat. Sassoon* 568 sq. S. Asaf: באהלי יעקב 125 f.

B47. Saadia:

واوائل بكور ارضك تأتى بها الى بيت الله ربّك ولا تأكل لحما بلبن •

i.e. the end of the verse is here: "Thou shalt not eat meat in milk." *Tāj*: Wa-Lā taṭbakh. So already in Onkelos. Ms. T. indeed accuses "the compiler of the Targum" of the rabbinic misinterpretation. "He outdid himself in a hasty conclusion . . . This, by my life, is different from what God said for it is extremely remote from what the usage of the word suggests. This far-reaching tampering with the divine word is inadmissible. For if God wished to forbid the eating of meat with milk nothing would have prevented Him from stating that clearly. Thus their error in the interpretation of other distorted translations becomes evident, as well as how they tended to make the burden [of the precepts] heavy upon their community."

B48. Saadia:

وفى الجفن ثلاثة قضبان وهى كما فرعت صعد نوارها ونضجت عناقيدها وصارت عنبا •

Cf. Zucker p. 358; Qirqisānī v. V p. 1226; David b. Abraham *Dictionary* v. I 280; Nemoy *Anthology* p. XXIV. Schreiner pointed to the Karaite origin of the argument mentioned also by Ibn Ezra, and referred to the 13 c. Aaron b. Joseph in *Sefer Ha-Mibhar* and the 14 c. Aaron b. Elijah in *Keter Tora*. Cf. Belkin *Philo and the Oral Law* (Cambr., Mass., 1940) p. 22; von Grunebaum in *JQR* 1941 p. 405 f. (a Muslim aware of the difference of opinion between Karaites and Rabbanites in this matter).

B49. *daula*. IH 210 also has inqirāḍu daulatin: This explanation of the stultifying impact of catastrophe and oppression upon the Jews is reproduced by I-Q, Qarāfī. In the last mentioned text it was recognized by Schreiner (p. 411 n. 1 in MGWJ for 1899) as a borrowing from Samau'al.

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B50. This is a curious echo of ancient accusations directed against the Jews, and later against the Christians. Cf. Tcherikover 365-68; Baron I 188 sq., 379 sq. With reference to celibacy's destructive intent (*Takhrīb al-'ālam*) it was turned against the Christians in Sasanian Iran (Andrae, *Ursprung* 188 ff.)

B51. The origin of synagogue prayers, poetry, and chant is obscure. The present text seems to carry some vague historical tradition. Cf. Baron VII 125 sq. (where our passage is quoted); also 95, 255 n. 28, 163 n. 45 & 46. Cf. Barceloni's *Sefer Ha-'ittim* 252 used by I. Halberstamm in Kobak's *Jeschurun* VI 130. But the argument here may be of Karaite origin. Qirqisānī (15f.) blames the Rabbanites for reciting their compositions and neglecting the Psalms of David during the services. Cf. Elbogen, 280-7; P. Kahle, *The Cairo Genizah*, 2 ed. (1959), pp. 38-43, 315-7. Possibly both Persian and Byzantine restrictions contributed to the shaping of the rites.

B52. On the medieval Jewish lore on the rise of Islam cf. SPL 302 sq; *Cat Sassoon;* J. Mann in *Hebrew Union College Annual* v. XII-XIII; J. Leveen in *JQR* XVI-XVII; M. Schwabe in *Tarbiz* II, 1930; Z. H. Baneth ib. III; B. Cohn in *REJ* LXXXVIII. Cf. W. Eichner in *Islam* 1936 p. 145 f.

B53. He was close to the prophet and his successors, and is cited in traditions as an authority on various subjects, in particular on biblical and Jewish subjects. Cf. *E.J.* and *EI.*

B54. Cf. Juynboll *Handbuch* p. 230 ff.

B55. Saadia:

ان ابانا شيخ وليس رَجل في البلد يدخل الينا كسبيل الناس تعالى نسق ابانا خمرا و نضاجعه و نستبق من ايينا نسلا (فسقنا اباهما خمرا في تلك الليلة وجأت الكبرى فضاجعته ولم يعلم بنيامها وقيامها) .

B56. Cf. s.v. Lūt in *The Shorter El.* For the Jewish lore cf. Ginzberg, esp. I 257, V 243 and n. 7 on p. 240. Cf. IḤ I 133 ff. Samau'al is excerpted by Qarāfī 113 f.

B57. Samau'al touches on this matter in his medical treatise Ms. Berlin-Tübingen f. 80.

B58. On Tālūt, cf. *SEJ.*

Cf. B. Heller in L. Blau Festschrift (Frankfurt, 1927).

B59. Cf. I-H on the second commonwealth and non-davidic rule pp. 145-47.

B60. On 'Uzayr cf. *SEJ* s.v. Uzair; Ṭabarī *Annales* I 669 f. Presumably, the author meant that the name Ezra fits an Arabic pattern in word formation (suggested by Prof. Gibb).

B61. Ibn Hazm 145-47. The subject of sexual habits figures frequently in discussions. Cf. Vajda in *Journal Asiatique* 1937 p. 71; Ghazāli in *K. al Nikāh* in the *Ihyā'*, tr. G. H. Bousquet *La Morale de l'Islam* etc. (Paris, 1953) p. 127.

B62. Saadia من الرجل الذي له هذه الاعلاق منه انا حامل .

B63. Saadia قد صدقت ذلك منّي

B64. On this Islamic tenet and its various interpretations cf. T. Andrae *Person* 94 sq.; von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam* pp. 96-97; L. Gardet et M. M. Anawati *Introduction* etc. p. 41 n. 2; Abdul Aleem in *Islamic Culture* v. VII p. 70; M. Schreiner in ZDMG 42 esp. 663-673, Qirqisāni in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 26 pp. 106-110; SPL 314 ff., M. Khalafallāh & M. Z. Sallām (eds), *Thalāth Rasā'il fī i'jāz al-Qur'ān* (Cairo 1956) (X-XI c. treatises by Rummānī, Khaṭṭābī, Jurjānī). E. Garcia-Gomez presented in *al-Andalus* IV (1936) objections ascribed to Samuel b. Nagrela as founded in a tract by Ibn Hazm. The full text was recently published by I. ʿAbbās. Cf. also I-H 119 f., 160 f., 182. The Muslim polemicist accuses Ibn al-Muqaffa' of being deficient in Arabic; cf. M. Guidi *La Lotta* p. XI and p. 19 lines 14-15. IH addresses a similar retort to the Jew: lā tuḥsinuhā.

Cf. R. Paret in the *Studi . . . in onore de G. Levi della Vida* v. II.

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B65. For the X century discussion on abrogation in the writings of Saadia and Bāqillānī cf. R. Brunschvig pp. 225-241 (in *Homenaje . . . Millas Valicrosa*).

B66. *Pasul* was probably meant to rhyme with the Arabic *Rasūl*, the Messenger (of God). *Madman* is with reference to Hosea 9:7: "The man of the spirit is mad." *Qalon* is an attempted parody on *Qur'ān*. Cf. SPL 302, 313-6. Ms. T. runs here thus: "Further, their animosity toward the Muslims is stronger than that (of, toward?) the other communities. Thus they will not call the Prophet except by these two names. This despite their having found great ease and having achieved much happiness under Muslim rule. For this rule was the most lenient toward them. Under Roman (or Byzantine) domination, they suffered from most wicked and harsh conditions, for the Romans used to hinder them in the observance of the precepts, preventing them now from praying and now from performing circumcision. The Persian Empire's yoke was the heaviest and most oppressive. But Muslim rule was the most lenient of all, the most merciful toward them for it was satisfied with their payment of poll-tax and their submission, and they were left free to observe their religion. In all fairness, this was kindness and benevolence they had never experienced under all the other regimes prior to Islam. But they requite with invoking evil upon Islam in every prayer, namely, in saying ומלכות זדון מהרה תעקר בימינו meaning: the kingdom of evil destroy and uproot it in our days. Elbogen, 51, mentions such a passage in a Geniza piece. It is a variant of the *'amida* section ולמלשינים. (*REJ*, 53, p. 238) Cf. *Berakhot* 28b.

Maimonides recognizes the complete monotheism (yihud she- 'eyn bo dofi) of Islam (*Responsa*, ed. Freimann, Jerus. 1934, p. 335-7). But he is bitter about the premeditated systematic humiliation of the Jews in Islamic lands (cf. *The Epistle to Yemen*). Yefet b. ʿAli maintains "the Arabs did not act, as others had done, by (inflicting the suffering of) exile and destruction but they harassed (us) with humiliation and contempt" (*adhat fi-l-dhull wa-l-hawān;* Oxf., 1889 p. 30).

B67. Saadia: انا لا اريد التزويج بها Tāj: اتـزوج

B68. Saadia: كذا يصنع برجل لا يبني بيت اخيه 'Tāj بالرجل الذي

B69. Saadia: قد ابى سلفى ان يقيم لأخيه اسما في ما بين بنى اسرائيل ولم يشأ ان يبنى بى

B70. I-K II 73 f. The Karaite treatment of the matter, Nemoy *Anthology* 346, 379, Qirqisani 1152 sq. Mas'ūdi (IX. c.): A man marries his niece; he dies; his brother, i.e. the widow's father, is supposed to marry her (*Murūj* II 388 f., ch. 31): "this is one of their secrets, one of the things they conceal and do not reveal."

Cf. S. Krauss *Die Ehe zwischen Onkel und Nichte in Festschrift Kaufmann Kohler* (Berlin, 1913). Cf. IH 133 f.

B71. Isr=burden is here a term; it refers to the burden of the precepts which may be a form of chastisement for transgression. "A burdensome covenant compact or contract" Koran 2:286, 3:75, 7:156. In 2:286: a burdensome command such as was given to the Children of Israel to slay one another; grievous punishment of a sin" (Lane). This notion is most probably of Christian origin. Cf. T. Andrae *Ursprung* p. 18. Also Matt. 19:8, Mark 10:5, Rom. 5:20; Justin Martyr, *Trypho* ch. 18, 19, 21, 22.

B72. Hrm = to forbid is used in this passage but in ḥarramū man yudīfu the verb seems to be derived from the Hebrew herem and to mean rather *they* threatened with excommunication. The two meanings are thus blended.

Goldziher in his paper *Kaempfe* etc., (ZDMG 61, 1907), shows earlier Islamic notions about the Mishna (tending to warn against committing oral tenets to writing lest they be exposed to misinterpretation). In a note (p. 867) he recognized the Ibn Qayyim passages he had published in 1873 in Kobak's *Jeschurun* v. IX were quotations from Samau'al.

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B73. The original has *al* instead of *lo'*.
Saadia: ליס מעטיכם מן וטנהם ולא וטי קדם
Tāj: (לא אעטיכם מן בלדהם
The next verse:

بل اشتروا منهم طعاما بثمن فكلوه وماء فاشربوه •

B74. Text: תשליכון Saadia:

وحيوان مفترس في الصحراء لا تأكلوه بل للكلب اطرحوه •

Cf. 1-Q 69 f.

B75. Cf. Hullin 9a. Qirqisani (22) objects to the procedure as lacking a biblical basis.

B76. Saadia

فأثبتها وقال هي تونية ابنى وحش ردى اكله فريسةً افترس يوسف

B77. In al-Damīrī II 21 f./II 60 f. Ghazāli is quoted as asserting that the name *salwā* (quail) was coined because the flesh of the bird calms (*yusallī*) man, and eliminates passions (qāṭi' al-shahawāt).

B78. S. Munk in *Notice, JA* (1842) p. 16 made use of this passage. Christian Jew-baiting made extensive use of raising resentment against the Jews' sale of *tereja* to Christians. But sometimes the issue was raised in the orbit of Islam, e.g. by the poet al-Ilbirī in his poem against Joseph Nagrela cf. Perlmann in *PAAJR*, 1949, p. 284 n. 46, 287 & n. 54.

B79. Cf. *EI*. This description puts the Karaites on lines parallel to those of Shi'a in Islam.

B80. Baron III 112: an exaggeration.

B81. Probably reflecting the Hebrew expression of Abot, I.

B82. A late X c. admonition by the Karaite Sahl b. Maṣliaḥ might serve as an illustration. Cf. Nemoy 116 f.

B83. The name Geshur was distorted in the Arabic script to *Grj* with the result that the coypist of Ms T. apparently took it to mean Georgia in the Caucasus and added a note which seems to identify Grj with Abkhasia.

B84. Here begins the account of a messianic movement which is identified as that of David Alroy. The passage was printed in the appendix to Wiener's ed. of Joseph Ha-Kohen's *'Emeq-Ha-Bakha* with a translation by Th. Haarbrücker and S. Munk (Leipzig 1858 p. 22-4, 169-171, xxv-xxiv) on the basis of the Paris ms. This tr. was rendered into English: J. R. Marcus, *The Jew in the Medieval World*.

On Amadiya, cf *EI* 2d ed.: Le Strange *Lands* 92: 100 km north of Mosul; citadel on a steep rock and named after 'Imād al-Dīn Zangi who built it in 537/1142 (but there had been an older fortress before this one was built). [On later Jewish settlement in Amadiya. Cf. S. Asaf *Be-ohole Ya'qob* 123 f. 131, 137 ff.]

J. Mann, *Texts and Studies*, v. I, p. 477.

The Alroy movement is discussed by Baron (III 202 ff., 385; cf. the source collation in Dinur *Toledot* II 277-281) the suggested date being about 1147.

Cf. Goitein in *JQR* 1952.

B85. *Qā'im*—a term in vogue, esp. among Shiites, for a precursor or representative of an imām; the head of a movement in favor of a saintly pretender-redeemer. It was in use among Jews; cf. Friedlaender *Studies JQR*, 1912 pp. 491, 495.

B86. Non-Jews? Graetz suspected a connection between the messianic movement and Ismaili activities in northern Persia.

Cf. A. N. Poliak in *World Congress of Jewish Studies*, v. I (Jerusalem, 1962), p. 406.

B87. The sectarians presumably offered the docetist explanation: it only appeared that Menahem had been killed. Cf. Friedlaender *Studies* in *JQR* 1912 p. 507 ff. For geographic data, cf. Schwarz *Iran* s.v.

B88. Baron V 385 n. 69; Friedlander *JQR* NS II (1912) 503-7. Ibn al-Athir v. X p. 98 mentions such a case in the West in 487/1094. The event mentioned by

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Samau'al is perhaps referred to in a Geniza document [Mann *REJ* 71 p. 90 f., Ha-tequfa 24 p. 347 f.; Dinaburg 278].

B89. Friedlaender o.c. p. 505 n. 122 discusses the recurrence of green-colored garb and signs in messianic movements.

B90. *Mawā'id 'urqūbīya*—'Urqūb promises. 'Urqūb "the name of a certain man of the Amakelites . . ., the greatest liar of his time, proverbial for breach of promises" (Lane 2023).

B91. Friedlaender o.c. 506 read *ghulwān* (for *jilbāb*) and translated: the excessive viciousness exhibited by them (i.e. the swindlers). But it seems that here the swindlers' (dual) act made the Jews (plural) appear in the mantle of vileness i.e., as the uncouth simpletons.

B92. *Munjibāt* — who gave birth to noble children. Goldziher: *munjiyāt* — *die ausgezeichneten.*

B93. On the father, cf. introd. n. 1. "The name Abū Naṣr was rather common in that century" Goitein in *JQR* 1954 p. 35 n. 8. It was the name of the son of Joseph Nagrela (M. b. Ezra, *Shirat Yisrael,* p. 68 end). This *kunya* was translated by Hebrew-writing authors who call Samau'al 'Azarya or Samuel b. Azarya (Zacuto, Sambari — cf. n. B 31 and the Sassoon ms. History Sketch, *Cat.* I 371 N 578-9)

B94. I.e. with the use of the zero.

B95. *GAL* S. I 857 (Abū-l-Ḥusayn).

B96. See introduction. He was born ab. 470/1077, died after 560/1164-5, is said to have become a convert to Islam toward the end of his life. S. Pines analyzed the philosophical writings of Abū-l-Barakāt. Cf. his summary and bibliography in E. I. (2. ed, I 111 ff.)

B97. Possibly the commentator on Karajī (Karkhī)'s *al-Kāfī* (cf. n. 100 below) mentioned in *GAL* SI 389 end. On administrative accounting cf. Hinz in *Der* Islam v. 29 (1949) and C. Cahen in *Annales de l'Institut d'études orientales* (Alger) 1952 (quoting also Karajī).

B98. Muhadhdhab al-Din Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Isā b. al-Naqqāsh al-Baghdādī, a disciple of Abū-l-Barakāt is mentioned by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a I 285.

B99. Cairo ed.: Almagest. On the Arabic translations of and commentaries on Euclid cf. A. G. Kapp's study in *Isis* XXII (1934) — XXIV.

B100. Al Karkhī or rather al-Karaji — *GAL* I 219 SI 389 f., XI century author of al-badī' fī-l-ḥisāb and 'Ilal ḥisāb-al-jabr wa-l-muqābala.
Cf. E. I. 2 ed. s.v. *Al-Jabr.,* Ambuba in *Al Dirāsāt Al-Adabīya* (Beirut) 1959.

B101. Shujā' b. 'Asiam — cf. *GAL* SI 390. (X century).

B102. Cf. *GAL* II 62, SII 63 ff. M. Canard, Delhema, in *Byzantion* X, XII (1935-37), and in *Arabica* 8 (1961).

B102a. "A rare glimpse into the important role which historical works played in the intellectual formation of boys is afforded to us through the autobiography of a twelfth century Jewish scientist, as-Samaw'al b. Yaḥyâ al-Magribī, who later in his life converted to Islam. . . . As-Samaw'al was greatly impressed by the miraculous success of Muḥammad, the collapse of the mighty Persian and Byzantine armies, the skilful and just policies of Abû Bakr and 'Umar. If he as Jew could be so much influenced by the record of a past which was not his, how much more so must young Muslims have experienced the emotional impact of the historical literature. Here we clearly see the tremendous significance of historiography in Islam. It helped to inspire loyalty to and enthusiasm for the religious and cultural heritage of Islam at an age in the life of the individual in which other intellectual influences would have been far less effective." F. Rosenthal *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden, 1952) p. 42 f.

B103. Perhaps referring to such passages as *The Republic* Book VII, 526 b, c, e and 527 b, c. Cf. also al-Fārābi ed. Dieterici *Abhandlungen* 52 end/87.

B104. **Saadia**: cf. n. B 17 plus the end minhu fa-qbalū (from v. 15)

B105. **Saadia** ولوّح به من جبل فارن •

B106. Dreams are often mentioned in Islamic lore and literature as instructive and directive. The vision of the Prophet, i.e., his appearance in the dream of a

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person (*ru'ya*) is especially frequently mentioned. Such a vision is also cited in other cases of conversion (e.g. in that of Sa'īd al-Iskandarāni; cf. Goldziher in *REJ* XXX). Cf. Andrae *Person* 376-382; Macdonald *Attitude* 70-94; Krenkow in JRAS 1912; von Grunebaum *Med. Islam* 271 sq.; Rosenthal *Ar. Autob.* 16-18; T. Fahd in *Les Songes et leur interpretation* (Sources Orientales II, P. 1959) esp. p. 133.

B107. The appearance of the Prophet. F. Buhl p. 364 f. quoting Ibn Hishām (p. 266); neither tall nor short, etc.; W. Montgomery Watt *Muhammad at Medina* p. 321 (The hair . . . was long and thick, straight and slightly curled. In complexion he was fair). T. Andrae *Person* p. 199 ff. (from the ḥadith sections—shamā'il — and a work by al-Tirmiḍī *Shamā'il Mustafā*).

Cf. L. Zolondek's translation of Book XX of Al-Ghazālī's 'Iḥyā', (Leiden, 1963) pp. 68-74.

B108. Cf. H. Reckendorf *Arabische Syntax* (Heidelberg 1921) §109; Ibn al Anbarī *Insāf* ed. G. Weil, pp. 292 & 296 ff.

B109. Texts: 'mdn (probably ghmdn) cf. V. Minorsky (tr.) Ḥudūd al-ᶜAlam (L. 1937) p. 51 and p. 224 ff., esp. 229 end, map p. 231; id. *Marvazi* (L. 1942) pp. 25 f., 84; I. Krachkovskii *Izbr. Soch.* Iv (Moscow 1957) pp. 142, 144, 262.

B110. Possibly the same elements (yal) as in the nomenclature of the rulers in n. 9 to the introduction. Presumably of Kurdish origin.

B111. The celebration of the conversion is described also in other (later) cases e.g. *REJ* XXX 3 f., 17. Cf. Blumenkranz 148 sq. (for Christian areas).

B112. "On the southern bank of the Euphrates, between where the two rivers from Mayyāfarīkīn and Arzan flow in from the north, stands the castle called Ḥiṣn Kayfā or Kīfā, which the Greeks called Kiphas or Cephe. . . . Many churches . . . stone bridge which crossed the Tigris. . . . Below the castle, at that time (XIIc.) was a populous suburb, with many markets and hostelries, the houses being built of mortared stone." G. Le Strange *Lands* p. 113. *EI;* Lane-Poole *Mohammadan Dynasties* (Paris 1925) pp. 166-9.

Usāma b. Munqidh lived there in the years 560-570 H. i.e. in the years with which we are concerned here. The Ortukids were masters of the city (1101-1231). To a member of this family Najm Al-Din Abū-l-Fatḥ Shāh Ghāzī b. Toghrulbek a mathematical work of Samau'al's was dedicated in 570/1174. Likewise, Samau'al's tract on sex life Nuzhat al Aṣḥāb fī mu'āsharat al-aḥbāb available in several mss. was written for Abū-l-Fatḥ Muḥ. Qilij Bey Abū Bakr b. Qara Arslan, perhaps son of the ruler Fakhr al-Dīn Qara Arslan ca. 1148-1174.

B113. *EJ* s.v. Vajda in *RSO* XVII and REJ 99 pp., 81-91; *L'élaboration de l'Islam* (Paris 1960), article by F. Gabrieli.

B114. Cf. L. Gardet et MM Anawati *Introduction,* pp. 155, 441, n. 1.

B115. Probably this matter goes back to Platonic notions. Cf. e.g. Plato's Politics 292E97; Al-Farābi, Fusūl al-Madanī, ed. & tr. by D. M. Dunlop (Cambr. 1961) §29 pp. 41, 84, 123f.

B116. Mutanabbī, ed. Dieterici p. 193.

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إفحام اليهود

تأليف السموءل المغربي
(القرن السادس الهجري)

عني بنشره وترجمته

موسى برلمان

المجمع الاميريكي للبحوث اليهودية
نيويورك ١٩٦٤

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ب باريس ١٤٥٦ دار الكتب القوميـة

د دمشق في مكتبة برلين (دار الكتب لألمانيا الغربية ٥٥٥ ـ ١٩٣٧ / ٢٦٨٦)

ر رئيس الكتّاب سليمانية ـ استانبول

ط طهران مكتبة المجلس ، فهرست ج ١ ص ١٨٤ ، ج ٢ ص ٥٩٣

ع طبع القاهرة ١٩٣٩(مخطوطة من يافا):بذل المجهود في افحام اليهود

عـا عاشر ٤٤٥ سليمانيـة استانبول

ف فاتح سليمانية ٣١٤١ (في مجلد يشتمل على تواليف ابن كمونه)

ق القاهرة دار الكتب المصرية رقم ٢٦١٨ كلام ٢٦١

(فهرست ج ٦ ص ١١٣)

ك القاهرة دار الكتب المصرية رقم ١٩٦٥ كلام ٣٩٧ / ١٩٢٥

رمـوز اخـرى

ز زيـادة س سقط

اما الملاحظات فمرتبة حسب صحف المخطوطة الاساسية وارقام هذه الصحف موجودة في النص مثلا ٣ أ ثم ٣ ب الـخ .

يعنى مادة ٣ أ تتلوها ملاحظات ٣أ إما بالصفحة ذاتها وإما بالتاليـة .

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد (١)

اما بعد • حمد الله على ما ألهم به (٢) من الهداية ، وعصم عنه من الغواية • والصلاة (٣) على (٤) محمد خاتم النبيين ، وعلى آله الطاهرين •

فان سبيل من فُضل (٥) من العباد ، بالفطانة والرشاد ، ان يجدّ في البحث عن احوال المعاد ، والتأمل لما اخذه عن (٦) الاباء والاجداد ، بعين الامتحان والانتقاد • فان رآه فضيلة (٧) سما (٨) لادراكها ، وان الفاه رذيلة نجا من اشراكها ، لتضحى حقائبه بطانا (٩) من الزاد ، فان هاتف الموت بالمرصاد (١٠) • ولن يحمد العقبى مضجع (١١) في تحصين شرعه ، وموزع مواقيته على ما (١٢) ينقاد اليه بطبعه • ولن يظفر بضالّة الحق

(١) تسقط عا هذا السطر • ط : وبه نستعين • د ، ع : لا اله الا الله عدة للقاء الله • (٢) في د • ع فقط • (٣) د ، ع : ز : والسلام • (٤) د • ع : ز : سيدنا • (٥) ط : منح • (٦) عا : من • (٧) ك : ز : منه • (٨) ق : سعى • ك : س • (٩) د ، ر : بطانة • (١٠) د ، ع : لبالمرصاد (راجع القرآن ١٣ ،٨٩) • (١١) د : مضجعا الا • ع : لمضيع • (١٢) ط : في

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الا ناشدوها . ولن يبهرج (١٣) الاباطيل (١٤) على انفسهم الا مفسدوها (١٥) .

والغرض الاقصى من انشاء هذه الكلمة ـ الرد (١٦) على اهل اللجاج والعناد ، وان تظهر ما يعتور (١٧) كلمتهم من الفساد . على ان الا ثمَّة ـ ضوعف ثوابهم ـ قد انتدبوا قبلي (١٨) لذلك ، وسلكوا في مناظرة (١٩) اليهود انواع المسالك ، الا ان اكثر (٢٠) ما نوظروا به يكادون (٢١) لا يفهمونه او (٢٢) لا يلتزمونه . وقد جعل(٢٣) الى افحامهم طريقا مما يتداولونه في ايديهم من نص تنزيلهم (٢٤) واعماهم (٢٥) الله عنه عند تبديلهم ، ليكون حجة عليهم موجودة في ايديهم .

إلزامهم النسخ

وهذا اول ما ابتدىء به (٢٦) من الزامهم النسخ من نص كتابهم ومما تقتضيه اصولهم .

الانقياد لطبعه . (١٣) في النصوص ما عدا ط ، ق : يهدج او يهرج . اما القراءة الصحيحة فأوقفني عليها الأستاذ محمود غول . (١٤) ط : الحقائق . وعلى الحاشية تصحيح اللفظة . (١٥) ع : معتدوها . (١٦) ط : الراد وعلى الحاشية تصحيحها . (١٧) د ع : يغور . (١٨) د ، ع : س . (١٩) د ، ع : مناظرتهم . (٢٠) ق : اكثروا . (٢١) د : لا يكادون . (٢٢) د ، عا : ولا . (٢٣) د ، ع : ز : الله . (٢٤) عا : توراتهم . (٢٥) د ، ع : واعمالهم . ع : ز : كتاب الله . عا : وعماهم . (٢٦) عا : س . ق تسرد على الحاشية هذه الملاحظة :

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نقول (٢٧) لهم : هل كان قبل نزول التوراة شرع ام لا ؟ فان جحدوا ـ كذبوا بما نطق به الجزء الثاني من السفر الاول من التوراة اذ شرع الله على نوح عليه السلام القصاص في القتل • ذلك قوله :

شوفيخ دام ها ادام دامو يشافيخ كي بصلم الوهيم عاسا اث ها ادام•

2a

שפך דם האדם באדם דמו ישפך כי בצלם אלהים עשה את האדם

تفسيره : سافك دم الانسان فليحكم بسفك دمه لأن الله خلق الادمي (١) بصورة شريفة •

وما يشهد به الجزء الثالث من السفر الاول من (٢) التوراة اذ شرع الله (٢) على ابراهيم عليه السلام ختانة (٣) المولود في اليوم الثامن من ميلاده •

وهذه وامثالها شرائع لأن الشرع لا يخرج عن كونه امراً او نهياً (٤) من الله لعباده سواء نزل على لسان رسول الله او كتب في اسفار ، او الواح ، او غير ذلك •

فاذا افروا بان قد كان شرع ، قلنا لهم :

ما تقولون في التوراة ، هل اتت بزيادة على تلك الشرائع

هذه اول آية من التوراة المثبتة للنسخ في القتل للقاتل صحّ (يعني المصحح) • (٢٧) د : اقول •

2a

(١) ع : ادم • (٢) ط : س • (٣) ع : ختان • (٤) ع ، ق ، ك : و نهيا

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ام لا ؟

فان (٥) لم تكن اتت بزيادة فقد صارت عبثا اذ لا زيادة فيها على ما تقدم ولم تغن شيئاً • فلا يجوز ان تكون صادرة عن الله تعالى (٦) • وذلك كفر على مذهبكم •

وإن كانت التوراة اتت بزيادة ، فهل في تلك الزيادة تحريم ما كان مباحا أم لا ؟

فان انكروا ذلك، بطل قولهم من وجهين :

احدهما إن التوراة حرمت الاعمال الصناعية في (٧) يوم السبت بعد ان كان ذلك مباحا وهذا بعينه فهو (٨) النسخ •

والثاني انه لا معنى للزيادة في الشرع الا تحريم ما تقدمت اباحته او اباحة ما تقدم تحريمه (٩) •

فان قالوا إن الحكيم لا يحظر(١٠) شيئاً ثم يبيحه لان ذلك إن جاز مثله ، كان كمن امر بشيء وضده ، فالجواب ان من أمر بشيء وضده في زمانين مختلفين (١١) غير مناقض (١٢)

(دون «او» قبلها) • (٥) د ، ع :فان قالوا لا فقد • (٦) د ، ط ، ع ، ك : ز : فيلزمكم ان التوراة ليست من عند الله • (د : فيلزمهم) • (٧) د : س • (٨) د : هو • (٩) ط :حظره • (١٠) ع : ز : اي لا يحرم • في د انتقال الى عبارة «في زمانين»• (١١) د : ز : كان • (١٢) ع :

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من (١٣) اوامره وانما يكون كذلك لو كان الامران في وقت واحد ٠

فان قالوا إن التوراة حظرت امورا كانت مباحة من قبل ولم تأت بإباحة محظور ، والنسخ المكروه هو اباحة المحظور، لأن من أبيح له شيء (١٤) فامتنع عنه وحظره على نفسه ـ فليس بمخالف ، وانما المخالف ـ من مُنع عن (١٥) شيء فاتاه لاستباحته (١٦) المحظور ، فالجواب :

2b

إن مَن أحلَّ ما حظره الشرعُ ـ في طبقة المحرّم لما احلَّه الشرعُ ، اذ كل منهما قد خالف المشروع ولم يقرأ (١) الكلمة على معاهدها ٠ فاذا جاز ان يأتي شرعُ التوراة بتحريم ما كان ابراهيم عليه السلام ومن تقدمه على استباحته (٢) فجائز ان تأتي شريعة اخرى بتحليل ما كان في التوراة محظورا ٠

وأيضاً فلا تخلو المحظورات من أن يكون تحريمها مفترضاً (٣) في كل الأزمنة لأن الله (٤) يكره ذلك

متناقض ٠ (١٣) د : عا بين (١٤) ط : ابيح شيئا ٠ (١٥) د : من ٠ (١٦) د ، ع : باستباحته

2b

(١) ط ، عا ، ق : يقر ٠ (٢) ط س : على ٠ ثم : يستبيحه ٠ (٣) ط صعبة القراءة ، تواصل : ابدا او مختصا به ٠ فان كان مفترضا ابدا في كل الازمنة فقد جعلوا الانبياء الذين كانوا قبل نزول التوراة وبعده من

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المحظور لعينه (٥) وامّا أن لا يكرهه الله لعينه بل نهى عنـه في بعض الأزمنـة.

فان كان الله ينهى (٦) عن عمل الصناعات في يوم (٧) السبت فينبغي ان يكون هذا التحريم على ابراهيم ونوح وآدم ايضا لأن عين السبت كان ايضا موجودا في زمانهم، وهي علـة التحريم . واذا كان ذلك غير محرم على ابراهيم ومن تقدمه فليس النهي عنه لعينه ـ اعني في جميع اوقات وجود عينه . واذا لزمهم ان تحريم الاعمال (٨) الصناعية في يـوم السبت ليس بتحريم (٩) في جميع وجود (١٠) اوان (١١) السبت فليس يمنع ان ينسخ هذا التحريم في زمان آخر . واذا ظهر قائم بمعجزات الرسالة واعلام النبوة في زمن آخر بعد فترة طويلة فجائز ان يأتي بنسخ كثير من احكام الشريعة ، سواء حظر مباحاتها او اباح محظوراتها .

وكيف يجوز ان يحاج من جاء بالبينة باعتراض فيما ورد

المستبيحة لمحظورات . بـل لمن العجب ان تكون الشريعة مفترضا قبل نزول افتراضـه من عند الله . وان كان مختصا بزمان .

ثم تواصل : وظهر قائم الخ . (٤) د : ز : اما ان . (٥) في س ، عا قفزة الى لفظة «لعينه» في الجملة التالية . (٦) د : نهى . (٧) د ، ع ، عا ، ك : لعين . (٨) ع : س . ثم : الصناعة . (٩) د ، ع ، ق ، ك : بمحرم . د : فليس بمحرم . (١٠) ع : س . (١١) د ، ع : اوقات . (١٢) ق : س .

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بـه من امر ونهي ، سواء وافق العقولَ البشريةَ او باينها ، ولا سيما ان الخصوم قد طال ما تعبدوا بفرائض مباينة للعقول، كطهارة انجاسهم برماد البقرة التي كان الإمام الهـاروني يحرقها قبيل اوان الحج ونجاسة طاهرهم بذلك الرماد بعينه ، على ان الذي يروم تنزيله منزلة (١٢) هذا ـ اقرب كثيرا الى العقـل ٠

فان الافعال والاوامر الإلاهية منزهة عن الوقوف عنـد مقتضى العقول البشرية ٠ واذا كانت التعبدات الشرعيـة غير

3a

عائدة بنفع لله، عز وجل، ولا دافعة عنه ضررا، لتنزهه (١) سبحانه عن الانتفاع والتأذي بشيء ، فما الذي يحيل او يمنع (٢) كونه تعالى يأمر امةً بشريعة ، ثم ينهى امة اخرى عنها، ويحرم محظورا على قوم ويحلُّه لأولادهم ، ثم يحظره ثانيا على من يجيء من (٣) بعـد ؟

وكيف يجوز للمتعبد ان يعارض الرسول في تحليله ما كان حراما على قوم ويستدلّ بذلك على كذبه بعد ان جاء بالبينة واوجب العقـلُ (٤) تصديقـَه وتحكيمـَه ؟ أ ليس هـذا

3a

(١) د : لتنزيه ٠ ع : لتنزيهه ٠ (٢) د ، ع : يحرم ٠ (٣) د ، ط : س ٠

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تحكّما (٥) وضلالا وعدولا عن الحق ؟

افحام اليهود والنصارى بالحجة (٦) العقلية وإلزامهم الاسلام

١

لا يسع عاقلا ان يكذب نبيًّا ذا دعوة (٧) شائعة و كلمة قائمة ويصدق غيره ، لأنه لم يرَ احدهما ولا شاهد معجزاتـه • فاذا (٨) خصص (٩) احدهما بالتصديق والاخر بالتكذيب ، فقـد تعيّـن عليـه المـلام والازراء عقلا • ولنضرب لذلك مثالا (١٠) •

وهو إنّا (١١) اذا سألنا يهوديا عن موسى عليه السلام ، وهل رآه (١٢) وعاين معجزاته ، فهو بالضرورة يقر بانه لم يشاهد شيئا من ذلك عياناً فنقول له : بما (١٣) عرفت نبوة موسى وصدقه (١٤) ؟•

ع : من بعدهم • (٤) د ، ع : واوعب العقلاء • (٥) د : تحكيما• (٦) ع : بالحجج • (٧) د : اذ دعوته• على حاشية ق :

وهذا الزامهم ايضا بالنص الذي في التوراة انه لا يجوز تكذيب نبي وتصديق آخر بنبوته لا عقلا ولا نقلا• (٨) د : فان • (٩) ع : خصص • (١٠) ع : مثلا • (١١) ع : س • (١٢) ط : س • (١٣) د ، ر ، ط : بماذا • (١٤) ط تواصل : فلا يخلو جوابه من وجهين : اما ان يقول ـ لأن

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فان قال إن التواتر (١٥) قد حقق ذلك ، وشهادات الامم بصحته دليل ثابت في العقل كما قد ثبت عقلا (١٦) وجود بلاد وانهار لم نشاهدها وانما (١٧) تحققنا (١٨) وجودها بتواتر الانباء والاخبار (١٩) ، قلنا ـ إن هذا التواتر موجود لمحمد وعيسى كما هو موجود لموسى فيلزمك (٢٠) التصديق بهما.

وان قال اليهودي ـ ان شهادة ابي عندي بنبوة موسى هي سبب (٢١) تصديقي (٢١) بنبوته ، قلنا له : ولمَ كان ابوك عندك صادقا في ذلك ، معصوما عن الكذب ؟ وانت ترى الكفّار ايضا يعلمهم اباؤهم ما هو كفر عندك ، إما (٢٢) تعصبا من (٢٣) احدهم لدينه وكراهية لمباينة طائفته ومفارقة

3b

قومه وعشيرته ، واما لأن اباءه (١) واشياخه نقلوه اليه فتلقنه منهم معتقدا فيه الهداية والنجاة. فاذا كنت يا هذا قد ترى جميع المذاهب التي تكفّرها (٢) ، فقد اخذها اربابها (٣)

ابي عرّفني ذلك ، واما ان يقول ـ لان التواتر قد حقق ذلك . (١٥) د : س ٥ كلمات . (١٦) ط : في العقل . (١٧) ق : حققنا . (١٨) ط : ز : من . (١٩) ط : س . انتقال الى «وان قال» . (٢٠) ق : فيلزمكم . (٢١) د ، ع : شبه تصديق . (٢٢) ط : ز : اضلالا لهم واما . (٢٣) د : لاحدهم .

3b

(١) ع : اباه . (٢) ع : تكفر بها . (٣) د : ابنائها . (٤) ط ع : ز :

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من ابائهم كأخذك مذهبك عن ابيك ، وكنت عالما (٤) ان ما هم عليه ضلال وجهل ، فيلزمك ان تبحث عما اخذته عن ابيك خوفا (٥) من ان تكون هذه حالته (٦) ٠

فان قال إن الذي اخذته عن ابي أصح مما أخذه الناس عن ابائهم ، لزمه ان يقيم البرهان على نبوة موسى من غير تقليد لأبيه ، لأنه قد ادعى صحة ذلك بغير (٧) تقليد (٨) ٠

وإن زعم ان العلة في صحة ما نقله عن ابيه ان (٩) اباه يرجح على اباء الناس بالصدق والمعرفة ، كما يدعي اليهود في حق ابائها (١٠) ، لزمه (١١) ان يأتي بالدليل على ان اباه كان (١٢) اعقل من سائر اباء الناس وافضل ٠ فان هو (١٣) ادعى ذلك (١٤) ـ كذب فيه لأن من (١٥) هذه صفته يجب (١٦) ان يستدل على فضائله بآثاره ٠ وقول اليهود (١٧) باطل فانه ليس لهم من الآثار في العالم ما (١٨) لغيرهم مثله ، بل على الحقيقة لا ذكر لهم بين الامم الذين استخرجوا العلوم الدقيقة ودونوها لمن يأتي بعدهم ٠ وجميع ما نسب

او معتمدا ٠ (٥) ع : س ٠ (٦) ع : حالتك ٠ (٧) ع : من غير ٠ (٨) ع : ز : لأبيه ٠ (٩) د ، ع : انه ٠ (١٠) د ، ع : ابائهم ٠ (١١) ط : فيلزمه ٠ (١٢) د ، ع : س ٠ (١٣) ق : س ٠ (١٤) د : ز : فقد ٠ (١٥) د ، ع : ز : ادعى مثل هذا ٠ (١٦) د : ز : عليه ٠ (١٧) ط تواصل : في ذلك مبطل بانه (١٨) د ، ط : ز : ليس

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اليهم من العلوم ، مع ما استفادوه من علوم غيرهم ، لا يضاهي بعض الفنون الحكمية التي استخرجها حكماء اليونان والعلوم التي استنبطها النبط • واما تصانيف المسلمين فيستحيل لكثرتها ان يقف احد من الناس على جميع ما صنفوه في احد الفنون العلمية لسعته وكثرته • واذا كان هذا موقعهم من الامم، فقد بطل قولهم ان اباءهم اعقل الناس وافضلهم(١٩) واحكمهم (١٩) ،ولهم اسوة بسائر اباء الناس المماثلين لهم

4a

من ولد سام بن نوح عليهما السلام • فإذا اقروا بتآسي ابائهم بأباء غيرهم (١) فقد لقنوهم الكفر ، لزمهم ان شهادة الاباء لا يجوز أن تكون حجة (٢) في صحة الدين • فلا يبقى لهم حجة بنبوة (٣) موسى الا شهادة التواتر • وهذا التواتر موجود (٤) لعيسى ومحمد كوجوده لموسى (٥) • فاذا كانوا قد آمنوا بموسى لشهادة التواتر (٦) بنبوته ، ـ فقد لزمهم التصديق بنبوة (٧) المسيح (٨) والمصطفى صلى الله عليهما وسلم •

(١٩) ك : س •

4a

(١) د ، ع ط تواصل : وقد علموا انإباء غيرهم قد لقنوهم • (٢) في د تقزة الى لفظة حجة في الجملة التالية • (٣) د : نبوة ط : بصدق • (٤) ط : يوجد • (٥) ط : ز : صلى اللهعليهم اجمعين • (٦) ط : بصحة نبوته • (٧) ط : س • (٨) ط : بالمسيح •

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وجه آخر في اثبات النسخ باصولهم (٩)

نقول لهم: هل (١٠) انتم اليوم على ملة موسى عليه السلام ؟

فان قالوا نعم ، قلنا لهم : اليس في التوراة ان من مس عظماً او وطىء قبراً او حضر ميتـاً عند موته فانه يصير من النجاسة في حال لا مخرج له منها الا برماد البقرة التي كان الامام الهاروني يحرقها ؟ فلا يمكنهم مخالفة (١١) ذلك لانه نصٌ ما يتداولونه • فنقول لهم (١٢) : فلمَ جعلتم ان من مس العظم والقبر والميت فهو طاهر يصلح للصلاة وحمل المصحف ـ والذي في كتابكم بخلافه (١٣) ؟

فان قالوا ـ لانّا عدمنا اسباب الطهارة ، وهي رماد البقرة ،

(٩) على حاشية ق :

وهذه الآية من التوراة في اثبات النسخ وانه المشروع للانبياء بامر الله وانزاله عليهم •

تواصل ط (بما يشبه النص في • ٧أ ـ ٦ ب) كما يلي :

وجه آخر في افحامهم • هم يزعمون ان التواتر بشهـادة الامم بنبوة موسى اقوى من التواتر بشهاداتهم بنبوة محمد وعيسى صلى الله عليهما وسلم ، لأن موسى يشهد له جميع الامم • وجوابهم ان يسألوا عن اجماع شهادات هل هو صحيح لديهم • ثم نجد في ط نص ٧ أ الى بدء الفصل الجديد • ولكن بدلا من الفصل عن عيسى نجد الفصل عن اعلام نبوة محمد ، راجع ٧ ب و ٨ أ • (١٠) ع : فهل • (١١) د : المخالفة في • (١٢) د ، عا : فهل انتم اليوم على ذلك ؟ فيقولون ـ لا نقدر على ذلك • فنقول لهم :

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والإمام المطهر المستغفر ـ ، قلنا : فهل ترون هذا الامر مع عجزكم عن (١٤) فعله (١٥) مما تستغنون في الطهارة عنه أم لا ؟ فان قالوا ـ نعم ، قد نستغني عنه ، ـ فقد اقروا بالنسخ لتلك الفريضة لحال اقتضاها هذا الزمان • وان قالوا ـ لا نستغني في الطهارة عن ذلك الطهور ـ ، فقد اقروا بانهم الأنجاس ابداً ، ما داموا لا يقدرون على اسباب الطهارة •

فنقول لهم : فاذا كنتم انجاسا على رأيكم واصولكم ، فما بالكم تعتزلون الحائض بعد انقطاع الحيض وارتفاعه سبعة

4b

ايام اعتزالا تفرطون فيه الى حد أن احدكم ، لو لمس ثوبه ثوب المرأة ، لاستنجستموه مع ثوبه ؟

فان قالوا ـ لأن ذلك من احكام التوراة ـ قلنا : أليس في التوراة ان ذلك يراد به الطهارة ؟ فان (١) كانت الطهارة قد فاتتكم ، والنجاسة التي انتم فيها هي (٢) ، على معتقدكم ، لا ترتفع بالغسل كنجاسة الحيض (٣) ، فهي كذلك اشد من نجاسة الحيض ؛ ثم (٤) انكم ترون ان الحائض طاهرة اذا

فكيف جعلتم لمس العظم • شبه ذلك في ر ايضا • (١٣) د : خلافه • (١٤) د : عنه • (١٥) د : س •

4b

(١) د : فاذا • (٢) د : س • (٣) د : س ٥ كلمات • (٤) د : لما •

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كانت على (٥) غير ملتكم ، لا (٦) تستنجسون لامسها ولا الثوب الذي تلمسه; وتخصيص هذا الامر ـ اعني(٦أ) نجاسة الحيض ـ بطائفتكم ـ مما ليس في التوراة ; فهذا كله منكم نسخ او تبديل ٠

فان قالوا ـ ان هذا ، وإن كان النص غير ناطق به ، فقد جاء في الفقه ـ ، قلنا لهم : فما تقولون في فقهائكم ، هل الذي اختلفوا فيه من مسائل الخلاف والمذهب (٧) على كثرتها لديكم ، كانت ثمرة اجتهاد واستدلال او (٨) منقولا بعينه ؟ فهم يقولون ـ إن جميع ما في كتب فقهنا نقله الفقهـــاء عن الاحبار ، عن الثقات من السلف ، عن يهوشع بن نون ، عن موسى الكليم عليه السلام، عن الله تعالى٠فيلزمكم في هذا ان (٩) المسئلة الواحدة التي اختلف فيها اثنان من فقهائكم (١٠) يكون كل واحد منهما ينقل مذهبه فيها نقلا مسندا (١١) الى الله عز وجل ! وفي ذلك من الشناعة اللازمة لهم (٢) ان يجعلوا الله قد امر في تلك المسألة بشيء وخلافه ٠ وهو النسخ الذي يدفعونـه بعينـه ٠

(٥) د : من ٠ ر : س ٠ (٦) د : ولا ٠ (٦ أ) ر : س ٠ (٧) في عا ، قفزة الى «بعينه» ٠ (٨) ع : ومنقولا ل ٠٠٠ (٩) د : ز : هذه ٠ (١٠) د : ز : ان ، ر : فقهائهم ٠ (١١) د : مستندا ٠ (١٢) ع : مستبعد ٠

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فان قالوا ـ إن هذا (٢) الخلاف غير مستعمل (١٢) لأن الأولين كانوا بعد اختلافهم في المذهب في المسئلة يرجعون بها الى اصل واحد ، هو المقطوع به ـ قلنا : إن رجوعهم بعد الاختلاف الى الاتفاق على مذهب واحد إما لان احدهم رجع عما نقل او طعن في نقله ، فيلزمه السقوط عن

5a

العدالة ، ولا يجوز لكم ان تعاودوا الالتفات الى نقله • وإما ان يكون الفقهاء اجتمعوا على نسخ احد المذهبين ، او تكون رواية احدهما ناسخة لرواية الآخر • وما (١) من الفقهاء إلا من (٢) الغى مذهبه في مسائل كثيرة ـ ، وهذا جنون ممن لا يقرُّ بالنسخ ولا يرى كلام اصحاب الخلاف اجتهاداً ونظراً ، بل نقلا محضا •

5a

(١) د : ز : احد • (٢) د ، ر : ز: قد •

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الزامهم النسخ بوجه آخر

نقول لهم : ما تقولون في صلواتكم واصوامكم ؟ فهل هي التي فارقكم عليها موسى صلى الله عليه وسلم ؟

فان قالوا ـ نعم ـ ، قلنا : فهل كان موسى وامّته يقولون في صلواتهم (٣) ، كما تقولون (٤) ؟

תקע בשופר גדל לחרותנו ושא נס לקבצנו, וקבצנו יחד מארבע כנפות הארץ אל נוה קדשך, ברוך אתה ה' מקבץ נדחי עמו ישראל.

تفسيره : اللهم ، اضرب بوق عظيم لعتقنا ، واقبضنا جميعا من (٥) اقطار الارض الى قدسك : سبحانك ، يا جامع تشتيت قومه (٦) اسرائيل .

ام هل كانوا يقولون على عهد موسى عليه السلام كما تقولون في كل يوم :

השב שופטינו כבראשונה ויועצינו כבתחלה. ובנה את ירושלים עיר קדשך בימינו ונחמנו, ברוך אתה ה' בונה ירושלים.

تفسيره : اردد حكامنا كالاولين ، ومشيرينا كالابتداء ، وابنِ يروشليم قرية قدسك في ايامنا ، وعز نا (٧) ببنائها ،

(٣) في د مفرد . (٤) على حاشية ق :
وهذه آية اخرى من نص التوراة . انهم غيروا ما امر الله به في الصلاة وغيرها وابتدعوا كلاما غيره . (٥) د : ز : اربعة . (٦) د : قوم بني . (٧) ع ، ك : واعزنا .

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5b

سبحانك ،يا باني يروشليم ٠

ام هذه فصول شاهدة بانكم لفقتموها بعد زوال الدولة ؟

وأما صوم احراق بيت المقدس ، وصوم حصاره ، وصوم كدليا ، التي جعلتموها فرضا ، هل كان موسى يصومها او امر بها هو او خليفته يوشع بن نون ؟ او صوم صلب هامان ؟ هل هذه الامور مفترضة في (١) التوراة، او (٢) زيدت لاسباب اقتضت زيادتها في هذه الاعصار ؟

فان قالوا ـ فكيف يلزمنا النسخ هذا (٣) الامر ؟ قلنا : لان التوراة نطقت بهذه الآية (٤) :

לא תוסיפו על הדבר אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם ולא תגרעו ממנו.

لا تزيدوا على الامر الذي انا موصيكم به شيئا ولا تنقصوا منه شيئا (٥)

وإذا زدتم اشياء (٦) من الفرائض (٧) نسختم تلك الآية

إثبات النسخ على وجه آخر (٨)

نقول لهم : اليس عندكم ان الله اختار من بني اسرائيل

5b

(١) د : بالتوراة ٠ (٢) د : ام ٠ (٣) هذه الآي ٠ (٤) د : ز : وهي ٠
(٥) د : ز : تفسيره ٠ (٦) مفرد في د ٠ (٧) ر : ز : قد ٠ ك : ز

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الابكار ليكونوا خواص في الخدمة للاقداس ؟ فيقولون : بلى • فنقول لهم : اليس عندكم ايضا ان موسى ، لما نزل من الجبل ، وبيده (٩) الالواح ، ووجد القوم عاكفين على العجل، وقف بطرف المعسكر ونادى ـ مَن كان لله فليحضرني • فانضم اليه بنو ليوى ولم ينضم اليه البكور على ان مناداته ، وإن كان لفظها يقتضي العموم ، لم يكن اشار بها الا الى البكـور (١٠) اذ هم خاصة الله يومئذ دون اولاد ليوي • فلما خذله البكور ونصره اولاد ليوى قال الله لموسى :

ואסח את הלויים תחת כל בכור בבני ישראל

تفسيره : وقد اخذت الليوانيين عوضا عن كل بكر في بني اسرائيل •

وفي تنقيب نزول هذه الآية ، اليس ان الله عزل الابكار عن ولاية الاختصاص واخذ اولاد ليوي عوضا عنهم ؟ فهم لا يقدرون على انكار ذلك • وهذا يلزمهم منه القول بالبداء

فقد • (٨) على حاشية ق : وهذه آيةمن التوراة من ثبوت النسخ ومخالفتهم لموسى حين صعد الجبل للمناجاة ، (٩) د : وعنده • (١٠) تنتقل عا الى «ونصره» •

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6a

او النسخ ٠

إلزامهم نبوة المسيح صلى الله عليه وسلم (١)

نقول لهم : اليس في التوراة التي في ايديكم :

לא יסור שבט מיהודה ומחוקק מבין רגליו

تفسيره : لا يزول (٢) الملك من آل يهودا والراسم بين ظهرانيهم الى ان يأتي المسيح ٠

ولا يقدرون على جحده ٠

فنقول لهم : أ فما علمتم انكم كنتم اصحاب دولة وملك الى ظهور المسيح ، ثم انقضى ملككم ؟ فان لم يكن لكم اليوم (٣) ملك ، فقد لزمكم من التوراة ان المسيح قد أرسل ٠

وايضا فإنا نقول لهم : اليس منذ بعث (٤) المسيح عليه السلام استولت ملوك الروم على اليهود وبيت المقدس وانقضت دولتهم وتفرّق شملهم ؟ فلا يقدرون على جحد ذلك الا بالبهتان٠

ويلزمهم على اصلهم الذي في التوراة ان عيسى بن مريم هو المسيح الذي كانوا ينتظرونه ٠

6a

(١) حاشية ق : وهذه آية من التوراة ايضا مثبتة لنبوة عيسى ومحمد صلى الله عليهما وسلم (٢) د ، ر : يزول ٠ (٣) د : س ٠ (٤) د : دفن ٠

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إلزامهم نبوته ونبوة المصطفى عليهما السلام

نقول لهم : ما تقولون في عيسى بن مريم ؟

فيقولون : ولد يوسف النجار سفاحا • كان قد عرف اسم الله الأعظم يسخر (٥) به كثيرا من الاشياء •

فنقول لهم: اليس عندكم في اصح نقلكم ان موسى عليه السلام قد اطلعه الله على الاسم المركب من اثنين واربعين حرفا وبه شق البحر وعمل المعجزات؟ فلا يقدرون على انكار ذلك• فنقول لهم: فإذا كان موسى ايضا قد عمل المعجزات بأسماء الله فلمَ صدقتم بنبوته (٦) وكذبتم بنبوة (٦) عيسى؟ فيقولون لأن الله تعالى علَّم موسى الأسماء وعيسى لم يتعلمها من الوحي ولكنه تعلَّمها من حيطان بيت المقدس• فنقول لهم: فإذا كان الامر الذي يتوصل به الى عمل المعجزات قد يصل

6b

اليه مَن لا يختصه الله به ولا (١) يريد تعليمه اياه فبأي شيء جاز تصديق موسى؟ فيقولون: لأنه اخذها عن ربه• فنقول: وبأي شيء عرفتم انه اخذها عن ربه؟ فيقولون: بما تواتر من

(٥) د : فاستخدم • (٦) نصب في د ، ك •

6b

(١) ق : فلا •

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اخبار اسلافنا ٠

وايضا فإنّا نلجئهم الى نقل اسلافهم بان نقول لهم : بماذا عرفتم نبوة موسى ؟ فان قالوا ، بما عمله من المعجزات (٢) ، قلنا لهم . وهل فيكم من رأى هذه المعجزات ؟ ليس هذا — لعمري ! طريقا الى تصديق النبوات ، لأن هذا كان يلزم (٣) منه (٤) ان تكون معجزات الانبياء عليهم السلام باقية من بعدهم، ليراها كل جيل (٥) فيؤمنوا بها (٦)٠ وليس

ذلك بواجب لأنه، اذا اشتهر النبي في عصر ، وصحت نبوته في ذلك العصر بالمعجزات التي ظهرت منه لأهل عصره ، ووصل خبره الى (٧) اهل عصر آخر ، وجب عليهم تصديق نبوته واتباعه ، لان المتواترات والمشهورات مما يجب قبولها في العقل٠ وموسى وعيسى ومحمد ، صلوات الله عليهم وسلامه ، في هذا الامر متساوون (٨) ٠

ولعل تواتر الشهادات بنبوة موسى اضعف من تواتر الشهادات بنبوة عيسى ومحمد ، لان شهادة المسلمين والنصارى

(٢) قفزة الى « ليس » في عا (٣) د : يلزمكم ، ط ، عا : تسخر ٠ (٤) د : س ٠ (٥) د ٠ عا: ز : وجيل (٦) د : بهم ٠ عا : به ٠ (٧) د : لاهل ٠ د : : مساويون ٠

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بنبوة موسى ليست الا (٩) بسبب ان كتابيهما شهدا له بذلك فتصديقهم بنبوة موسى فرع عن تصديقهم بكتابيهم ٠

واما معجزة القران فانها (١٠) ، وإن كانت باقية ، فتلك فضيلة زائدة ، لا يحتاج الى كونها سبب (١١) الايمان ٠ فاما من أُعطي ذوق الفصاحة فان (١٢) ايمانه بإعجاز القران ايمان مَن شاهد المعجزة لا مَن اعتمد على الخبر ٠ الا ان هذه درجة لم يرسخ (١٣) بها كل واحد (١٤) ٠

فان(١٥) قالوا ـ إن نبينا يشهد له جميع الامم، فالتواتر به اقوى فكيف تقولون انه اضعف ؟ ، قلنا : أو كان إجماع (١٦)

7a

شهادات الامم هو (١٧) صحيح لديكم (١) ؟ فان قالوا ـ نعم قلنا : فان الامم الذين قبلتم شهادتهم مجمعون على تكفيركم وتضليلكم ، فيلزمكم ذلك لأن شهادتهم عندكم مقبولة ٠ فان قالوا ـ لا نقبل شهادة احد ـ لم (٢) يبق لهم تواتر الا من طائفتهم ، وهي (٢أ) اقل الطوائف عددا ، فيصير تواترهم

(٩) تنتقل د الى «بكتابيهما»
وتسقط باقي الفقرة ٠ (١٠) د ، تواصل : باقية اذا كانت الخ ٠ (١١) د : سببا للايمان ٠ (١٢) د : فانما ٠ (١٣) د : يرشح ٠ (١٤) د : احد ٠ (١٥) راجع ملاحظة ٩ ص ٤ أ ٠ (١٦) د : اجتماع الامم ٠ (١٧) عا ،

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ك : س ٠ (١) ط : لديهم ٠ (٢) ط : فلم ٠ (٢أ) حاشية ك : لعله فهي اصح

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وشرعهم لذلك اضعف الشرائع ٠

ويلزمهم مما تقدم ان كل من اظهر معجزات شهد بها التواتر مصدق في مقالته ٠ ويلزمهم من ذلك التصديق بنبوة المسيح والمصطفى عليهما السلام (٣) ٠

فصل فيما يحكونه عن عيسى عليه السلام

هم يزعمون انه كان من العلماء، لا من الانبياء، وانه كان يطبب المرضى بالأدوية، ويوهمهم ان الانتفاع انما (٤) حصل لهم بدعائه، وانه ابرأ (٥) جماعة من المرضى من اسقامهم في يوم السبت ٠ فانكرت عليه اليهود ذلك ٠ فقال لهم ـ اخبروني عن الشاة من الغنم، اذا وقع في البئر يوم السبت أما تنزلون اليه وتحلون السبت لتخليصه ؟ ٠ قالوا : بلى ٠ قال : فلمَ احللتم السبت لتخليص الغنم ولا تحلُّونه (٦) لتخليص الانسان الذي هو اكبر حرمة من الغنم فأفحمهم ولم يؤمنوا ٠

ولكون الجملة جواب ان ٠ (٣) ط تواصل «ذكر الآيات» ، راجع ص ٧ ب ٠ (٤) د : المنال ٠ (٥) د : ابرأ ٠ (٦) د ، ق : تحلونها ٠ (٧) د :

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وايضا فانهم يحكون عنه انه كان مع قوم (٧) من تلاميذه في جبل . ولم يحضرهم الطعام ، فأذن لهم في (٨) تناول الحشيش في يوم السبت (٩)· فانكرت عليه اليهود قطع الحشيش في يوم السبت · فقال لهم : أرأيتم ، لو (١٠) ان احدكم لو كان وحيدا مع قوم على غير ملّته ، وامروه بقطع (١١) النبات في يوم السبت والقائه لدوابهم (١٢) ، لا يقصدون بذلك كسر السبت ، ألستم (١٣) تجيزون له قطع النبات ؟ قالوا : (١٤) بلى · قال : فان هوءلاء القوم امرتهم بقطع النبات ليأكلوه ولينتذوا به ، لا للطعن في امر السبت · كل ذلك

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ملاطفة منه لعقولهم التي لا ينطبع فيها النسخ · ولئن كان ما يحكونه من ذلك صحيحا فلعله كان في ابتداء (١) ظهور امر المسيح عليه السلام ·

جماعة · (٨) د : بتناول · (٩) في ذ قفزة الى عين اللفظة بالجملة التالية · (١٠) د : س · (١١) د : في قطع · (١٢) د : س · ٥ كلمات · (١٣) عا : س · (١٤) د تواصل : قال ·

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ذكر (٢) الآيات والعلامات التي فى التوراة الدالة على نبوة سيدنا محمد المصطفى صلى الله عليه وسلم

انهم لا يقدرون على (٣) ان يجحدوا هذه الآية من الجزء الثاني من السفر الخامس من التوراة (٤)

נביא אקים להם מקרב אחיהם כמוך אליו ישמעון

تفسيره (٥) : نبيا اقيم لهم من وسط اخوتهم مثلك به فليؤمنوا ٠

وانما اشار هذا الى انهم يؤمنون بمحمد صلوات الله عليه ٠

فان قالوا ـ انه قال : من وسط اخوتهم ، وليس في عادة كتابنا ان يعني بقوله « اخوتكم » الا بني اسرائيل ـ قلنا : بلى ، فقد جاء في التوراة «اخوتكم بني (٦) العيص» ، وذلك في الجزء الاول من السفر الخامس قوله :

אתם עוברים בגבול אחיכם בני עשו היושבים בשעיר

تفسيره (٥) انتم عابرون في تخم اخوتكم بني العيص

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(١) د : س ٠ (٢) راجع ملاحظة ٣ في ص ٧ أ ٠ ط تستأنف : ذكر الآيات التي في التوراة الدالة على نبوة محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم ٠ (٣) ق ، ك : س ٠ (٤) د : ز : وهي ٠ (٥) ط : تأويله ٠

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المقيمين في سعير اياكم ان تطمعوا في شيء من ارضهم ٠

فاذا كان بنو العيص اخوة لبني (٦) اسرائيل ، لان العيص واسرائيل ولدا اسحاق ، فكذلك بنو اسماعيل اخوة لجميع ولد ابراهيم ٠

وإن قالوا ـ إن هذا القول انما اشير به الى شموائل النبي عليه السلام لانه قال «من وسط اخوتهم مثلك» ،وشموائل كان مثل موسى لانه من اولاد ليوي ـ يعنون من السبط الذي كان منه موسى ، قلنا لهم : فان كنتم صادقين فأي حاجة بكم الى ان يوصيكم بالايمان (٧) بشموائل ، وانتم تقولون ان شموائل لم يأت بزيادة ولا بنسخ؟ (٨) اشفق من ان لا تقبلوه ؟ (٩)٠ لأنه انما أرسل ليقوي ايديكم على اهل

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فلسطين وليردكم الى شرع التوراة٠ ومَن (١) هذه (٢) صفته فانتم (٣) اسبق الناس الى الايمان به ، لانه انما يخاف تكذيبكم لمن ينسخ مذهبكم ويغير اوضاع ديانتكم ،

(٦) ع : اخوتهم لبني ٠ (٧) د ، ع : س ٠ (٨) د ، ع : نسخ ٠
(٩) ك : يقتلوه ٠

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(١) د ، ع : س ٠ (٢) د: س ٠ ع :وبين ٠ (٣) ط : فانه ٠

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فالوصية بالايمان به مما لا يستغنى مثلكم عنه (٤) • ولذلك لم يكن لموسى حاجة (٥) ان يوصيكم بالايمان بنبوة ارميا واشعيا وغيرهما من الانبياء • وهذا دليل على ان التوراة امرتهم في هذا الفصل بالايمان بالمصطفى ، عليه الصلاة والسلام واتباعه •

الاشارة الى اسمه في التوراة (٦)

قال الله تعالى في الجزء الثالث من السفر الاول من التوراة مخاطبا لابراهيم الخليل عليه السلام :

واما في اسماعيل فقد قبلت دعاءك به (٧) قد باركت فيه وأثمره وأكثره جدا جدا •

ذلك قوله

ולישמעאל שמעתיך הנה ברכתי אותו והפריתי אותו והרביתי אותו במאד מאד

(٤) حاشية

ك : قوله ـ بالايمان به ـ مما لا يستغني ان كان الضمير المجرور بالباء عائدا على شموايل • وان كان عائدا على من ينسخ فلا غيره كانت لا زائدة • وان كان يريد على من ينسخ الخ• (٥) ع : ز : الى • (٦) حاشية ق : وهذه آية من التوراة مثبتة بذكر محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم ومثبتة لنبوته ايضا • في ط : فصل في تعيين الموضع الذي اشير فيه الى اسمه صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم من التوراة • (٧) د ، ط ، ع ، ك : س • ر ، ط : ز :

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فهذه الكلمة (٨) «بماد ماد» ، اذا عددنا حساب حروفها (٩) بالجمل كان (١٠) اثنين وتسعين ، وذلك عدد حساب حروف اسم (١) محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم ، فانه ايضا اثنان وتسعون ، وانما جعل ذلك في هذا الموضع ملغزا لانه ، لو صرح به ، لبدّلته اليهود او (١١) اسقطته من التوراة ، كما عملوا في غير ذلك ٠

فان قالوا ـ انه (١٢) قد (١٣) يوجد في التوراة عدد (١٤) كلمات مما يكون عدد (١٥) حساب حروفه مساويا (١٦) لعدد حساب حروف اسم (١٧) زيد وعمرو وخالد وبكر (١) فلا يلزم من ذلك ان يكون (١٨) زيد وعمرو وخالد وبكر (١٩) انبياء ، فالجواب :ان الامر كما يقولون لو كان لهذه الآية اسوة بغيرها من كلمات التوراة ، لكنا (٢٠) نحن (١) نقيم البراهين والادلة على انه لا اسوة (٢١) لهذه الكلمة

هاانا ٠ د : ز :فاني ٠ (٨) ع : اعني ٠ (٩) ط : ز : كان ٠ (١٠) د : بلغت ٠ ع : وجدناه ٠ (١١) ع : س٠ ثم : واسقطته ٠ (١٢) د : اذا اخذنا من التوراة ٠ ع : انما ٠ (١٣)ع : س ٠ (١٤) ع : عدة ٠ (١٥) د : س ٠ (١٦) ع : متساويا ٠ (١٧) د : ز : غيرهما يلزم ان ٠ (١٨) د : ز : اسم ٠ (١٩) د : واسماء ٠ (٢٠) د : ولكن ٠ (٢١) نص الفقرة في ط : فان قالوا ـ ان هذه الكلمة اسوة بغيرها من الكلمات التي في التوراة التي يكون عدد حساب حروفها عن عدد حساب حروف اسم آخر ـ ، غير اسم محمد ٠٠٠ والجواب : انه ليس في التوراة آية اخرى بشر بها ابرهيم٠

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بغيرها من (١) سائر التوراة. وذلك انه ليس في التوراة من الآيات ما حاز به اسماعيل (٢) الشرف كهذه (٣) الآية لانها وعد من الله بابراهيم (٤) بما يكون من شرف (٥) اسماعيل. وليس (٦) في التوراة آية اخرى مشتملة على شرف لقبيلة زيد وعمرو وخالد وبكر. ثم (٧) إنّا نبين انه ليس في هذه الآية كلمة تساوي «بماد ماد» التي معناها جدا جدا. وذلك انها كلمة المبالغة من الله سبحانه . فلا اسوة لها بشيء (٨) من (٩) كلمات (١٠) الآية المذكورة. واذا كانت هذه الآية اعظم الآيات مبالغة في حق اسماعيل واولاده ، وكانت تلك الكلمة (١١) اعظم مبالغة من باقي كلمات تلك الآية، فلا عجب ان تتضمن الاشارة الى اجلّ اولاد اسماعيل شرفاً واعظمهم قدراً (١٢) صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وصحبه وسلّم (١٣).

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(١) ع : في . (٢) د : ز : من . (٣) د : الا هذه . (٤) د : لابرهيم . (٥) د : الشرف ل ... (٦) د تواصل : بها آيات . (٧) ع : س . ثم : كما انه . (٨) د ، ع : س . (٩) د : س . (١٠) د : بكلمات . (١١) ق : الآية . (١٢) د : ز : وارفعهم بيتا . (انتهاء الفقرة) . ع : ز : محمد . (١٣) تسرد ط : في حق اسماعيل غير هذه الآية ، فلا اسوة لهذه الآية بشيء من آيات التوراة ، وليس في هذه الآية كلمة مبالغة من الخالق ، جل وعز ، الا هذه الكلمة ، واعني قوله جدًّا جدا، لانها بالغة في

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وإذ قد بيَّنَّا انه ليس (١٤) لهذه الكلمة اسوة بغيرها من كلمات هذه الآية ولا لهذه الآية اسوة بغيرها من آيات التوراة فقد بطل اعتراضهم ٠

ذكر (١٥) الموضع الذي اشير فيه

الى نبوة الكليم والمسيح والمصطفى عليهم السلام (١٦)

ואמר אדני מסיני אתגלי וזהר יקרה משעיר אתחזי לנא אתגלי בגברתה מטורא דפארן ועמה רבוו מרישין.

تفسيره (١٧) : قال ان الله من سيناي يتجلى واشرق نوره من سعير واطلع من جبال فاران ومعه ربوات القديسين ٠

التعظيم لامر اسماعيل ٠ فاذا كانت هذه الآية بغير نظير في التوراة، وكانت هذه الكلمة بغير نظير في هذه الآية ، فبالاحرى ان لا يكون لها اسوة بشيء من كلمات التوراة في الدلالة على نبوة المصطفى الذي هو اجلّ ولد اسماعيل عليه السلام ٠ (١٤) في د تبدأ الفقرة بلفظة «فليس» ٠ (١٥) حاشية ق : وهذه آية في التوراة تشير الى نبوة موسى وعيسى ومحمد صلى الله عليهم وسلم صريحا ٠ في ط : فصل في تعيين موضع واحد من التوراة دالّ على نبوة الثلاثة ٠٠٠والمساواة بينهم بالاشارة اليهم ٠ عندهم في الجزء الآخر الذي ختمت به التوراة هذه الآية ٠٠٠

تأويله ـ قال ان قدرة الله من سيناي اقبلت واشرقت من سعير لهم واطلعت من جبل فاران ومعها ربوات المقدسين (١٦) د : ز : وهو ٠ (١٧) في د قفزة الى لفظة هو في الفقرة التالية ٠(١٨) ع : بالمسيح ٠

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وهم يعلمون ان جبل سيعير هو جبل الشراة الذي فيه بنو العيص الذين آمنوا بعيسى (١٨) عليه السلام • بل في هذا الجبل (١) كان مقام المسيح عليه السلام • ويعلمون (٢) ان سيناي (٣) هو جبل (٤) الطور ، لكنهم لا يعلمون ان جبل فاران هو جبل مكة • وفي الاشارة الى هذه الاماكن الثلاثة التي كانت مقام نبوة هؤلاء الانبياء ما (٥) يقتضي (٥) للعقلاء ان يبحثوا عن تأويله المؤدي الى (٦) الامر باتباع مقالتهم •

فأما الدليل الواضح من التوراة على ان جبل فاران هو جبل مكة فهو ان اسماعيل لما فارق اباه الخليل عليه السلام ، سكن اسماعيل في برية فاران • ونطقت التوراة بذلك في قوله :

וישב במדבר פארן ותקח לו אמו אשה מארץ מצרים

تفسيره (٧) : واقام في برية فاران وانكحته امه امرأة من ارض مصر •

9a

(١) في ط قفزة الى ويعلمون • (٢) د : وهم يعلمون سيناء • (٣) د ، ع : سيناء • (٤) د : ز : معروف وهو جبل • (٥) ع : س • (٦) تواصل ط : اتباع مقالتهم والايمان بهم • (٧) في ط ٤ كلمات عبرانية دون

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فقد ثبت في(٨)التوراة ان جبل فاران مسكن لآل اسماعيل٠ واذا كانت التوراة قد اشارت في الاية التي تقدم ذكرها الى نبوة تنزل على جبل فاران لزم ان تلك النبوة على آل اسماعيل لأنَّهم سكان فاران٠ وقد علم الناس قاطبة أن المشار اليه بالنبوة من ولد اسماعيل محمد (١٠) صلى الله عليه وسلم وانه بعث من مكة التي كان فيها مقام (١١) اسماعيل٠ فدل ذلك على ان جبال (١٢) فاران هي جبال مكة وان التوراة اشارت في هـذا الموضـع (١٣) الى نبـوة المصطفى صلوات الله وسلامه عليه ، وبشرت به الا ان اليهود لجهلهم وضلالهم لا يحسنون (١٤) الجمع بين هاتين (١٥) الآيتين ، بل يسلمون المقدمتين ، لا (١٦) النتيجة لفرط جهلهم ٠ وقد شهدت عليهم التوراة بالافلاس من الفطنة والرأي٠ ذلك (١٧) قوله تعالى :

כי גוי אבד עצות המה ואין בהם תבונה

تفسيره (١٨) : انهم لشعب عادم الرأي وليس فيهم فطانة ٠

تعريبها ٠ (٨) ط ، ع ، ك : من ٠ (٩) ط : ز : من (١٠) ط : س ٠ ع : هو محمد ٠ (١١) د ، ع : ز : ابراهيم و ٠٠٠ (١٢) ط : جبل (١٣) ع : هذه المواضع ٠ (١٤) د ، ع : يجوزون ٠ (١٥) د ، ع : ز : العبارتين من ٠ (١٦) د ، ر ، ع : ويجحدون ٠ (١٧) ط : ز : في (١٨) ط : تأويله ٠

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9b

في (١) إبطال ما يدعونه (٢) من محبة الله اياهم

هم يزعمون ان الله تعالى (٣) يحبهم دون جميع الناس ويحب طائفتهم وسلالتهم وان الانبياء والصالحين لا يختارهم الله الا منهم • ونحن نناظرهم (٤) على (٥) ذلك •

فنقول لهم (٦) : ما قولكم في ايوب النبي عليه السلام ؟ اتقرون بنبوته ؟ فيقولون : نعم (٧) • فنقول لهم : هل هو من بني اسرائيل ؟ فيقولون : لا •

فنقول لهم : ما تقولون في جمهور بني اسرائيل، اعني التسعة اسباط والنصف الذين اغواهم يربعام بن نباط الذي خرج على ولد سليمان بن داوود وصنع (٨) لهم الكبشين من الذهب • وعكف على عبادتهما (٩) جماعة (١٠) بني اسرائيل واهل جميع ولايته دار ملكهم الملقّبة يومئذ بشومرون، الى ان جرت الحرب بينهم وبين السبطين والنصف الذين كانوا مؤمنين

9b

(١) ط ، ع ، عا : فصل في • (٢) ع : يدعون •• (٣) ط : سبحانه • ع : سبحانه وتعالى • (٤) د : نظارهم • (٥) ط : في • (٦) د ، ع ، س • قفزة في ع الى لفظة فنقول التالية • (٧) ع تسقط الجملة الى فنقول التالية • (٨) د : فوضع • (٩) د : عبادتهم • (١٠) د ، ع :

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مع ولد سليمان (١١) في بيت المقدس وقتل (١٢) في معركة واحدة خمسمائة الف إنسان ؟ فما تقولون في اولئك (١٣) القتلى باسرهم (١٤) وفي التسعة اسباط والنصف (١٥) ، هل كان الله يحبهم لانهم اسرائيليون ؟ فيقولون : لا ، لأنهم كفّار ٠

فنقول لهم : اليس عندكم في التوراة انه لا فرق بين الدخيل في دينكم وبين الصريح النسب (١٦) ؟ ٠

فيقولون : بلى (١٧) لان التوراة ناطقة بهذا :

כגר כאזרח ככם יהיה לפני ה׳

تفسيره : ان الاجنبي والصريح النسب منكم(١٨)سواء(١٩) عند الله (٢٠) ٠

תורה אחת ומשפט אחד יהיה לכם ולגר הגר בתוככם

تفسيره : شريعة واحدة وحكم واحد يكن لكم وللغريب الساكن فيما بينكم ٠

ز: من٠ (١١)ط : داود٠ (١٣) ط : ز: منهم ٠ د: ز : معهم ٠ (١٣) د : تلك٠ (١٤) ط : س ٠ (١٥) ط : س ٠ د : ونصف ٠ (١٦) ط ، ع ، ك : ز : منكم ٠ د : ز : معكم ٠ (١٧) تواصل ط : لانهم ان جحدوا كذبناهم بقول التوراة ٠٠٠ تأويله ٠ (لم تنقل الكلمات العبرانية بحروف عربية في هذا الموضع) ٠ (١٨) د ، ع : س ٠ (١٩) د ، ع : ز : بينكم ٠ (٢٠) ط صعبة القراءة ٠ يظهر ان فيها قفزة الى الفقرة التالية ٠

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فاذا (١) اضطررناهم الى الاقرار بأن الله لا يحب الضالين منهم ويحب المؤمنين من غير طائفتهم ، ويتخذ انبياء واولياء (٢) من غير سلالتهم ، فقد نفوا ما ادعوه من اختصاص (٣) محبة الله سبحانه وتعالى بطائفتهم من بين المخلوقين ٠

فصل في ذكر طرف من كفرهم وتبديلهم

إن من (٤) سبيل ذوي التحصيل ان يتجنبوا الرذائل وينفروا مما قبح في العقول السليمة ورجح تزييفه (٥) عند الافهام المستقيمة ٠ ولهذه الطائفة من فنون الضلال (٦) والاختلال ما تنفر (٧) عن مثله العقول ويخالفه المعقول والمشروع (٨) ٠

فمن ذلك انهم (٩) مع ذهاب دولتهم وتفرق شملهم(١٠)، وعلمهم بالغضب الممدود عليهم ، يقولون في (١١) كل يوم

10a

(١) د ، ع : وبهذا ٠ (٢) ع : اولياءه وانبياءه ٠ (٣) ط تواصل : الله سبحانه بطائفتهم ومحبته لهم من ٠ (٤) د ، ع : س ٠ (٥) ع : زيفه ٠ (٦) د ، ع : الفنون الضلالية ٠ (٧) د ، ط ، ع : تنبو ٠ (٨) د ، ط ، ع : المشروع والمعقول ٠ (٩) ط : ان ٠ (١٠) ط : ز : وقلة عددهم ٠ (١١) د ، ط : س ٠

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في صلواتهم انهم ابناء الله واحباوءه (١٢) • ذلك (١٣) قولهم كل يوم في الصلاة :

אהבת עולם אהבתנו אדני אלהינו

تفسيره : محبة (١٤) الدهر احببتنا يا الهنا •

השיבנו אבינו לתורתך

تفسيره : اردنا يا ابانا الى شريعتك •

אבינו מלכנו אלהינו

تفسيره : يا ابانا يا ملكنا يا الهنا •

אתה ה׳ אבינו גואלנו

تفسيره : انت اللهم ابونا منقذنا •

ואת כל רודפי בניך ואויבי עדתך כלם כממו ים אחד מהם לא נותר.

تفسيره: وجميع الذين اقتفوا (١٥) بنيك واعداء جماعتك كلهم غطاهم البحر ، واحد منهم لم يبق •

ويمثلون انفسهم بعناقيد العنب وسائر الامم بالشوك المحيط باعالي حيطان الكرم (١٦) • وهذا من قلة عقولهم (١٧) وفساد نظرهم ، لأن المعتني بمصالح الكرم انما يجعل على

(١٢) في ط قفزة الى « ويمثلون » • (١٣) د ، ع : وذلك (١٤) ق : س • (١٥) د ، ر : اقتضوا اثر نبتك • كذلك ك الا انها تسقط آخر الكلمات • (١٦) ط تواصل واذا قيل لهم انكم تقولون

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اعالي (١٨) حيطانه الشوك حفظا وحياطة للكرم ٠

10b

ولسنا نرى لليهود من بقية الامم الا الضرر والذل والصغار، وذلك مبطل لقولهم ٠

وينتظرون قائما يأتيهم من آل (١) داود النبي (٢) اذا حرك شفتيه بالدعاء مات جميع الامم ولا يبقى الا اليهود ٠ وان هذا المنتظر بزعمهم هو المسيح الذي وعدوا به ٠ وقد كان الانبياء عليهم السلام ضربوا لهم امثالا اشاروا بها الى جلالة دين المسيح وخضوع الجبارين لاهل ملته واتيانه بالنسخ العظيم٠ فمن ذلك (٣) قول شعيا في نبوته :

וגר זאב עם כבש יחדיו וידבצו ביניהם ופרה ודב תרעינה ואריה כבקר יאכל תבן.

تفسيره : ان الذئب والكبش يرعيان جميعا ويربضان معا وان البقرة والدب يرعيان جميعا وان الاسد يأكل التبن كالبقرة

في صلواتكم انكم ابناء الله واحبّاؤه وجحدوا ذلك وهم يقولونه في كل صلوة ، ذلك قولهم ٠ (ثم تتلو الصلاة السابقة ٠ وفي ترجمة الجملة الثالثة منها : انت يا رب ابونا ٠ وفي ترجمة الجملة الاخيرة : الذين اتبعوا بنيك غطاهم الخ)٠ ط تستأنف بلفظة وينتظرون ٠ (١٧) د تواصل : ونظرهم فان ٠ (١٨) د : س ٠

10b

(١) د ، ع : نسل ٠ ط : ولد ٠ (٢) د ، ع : س ٠ (٣) ط : فمن

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فلم يفهموا من تلك الامثال الا صورها (٤) الحسية دون معانيها العقلية ، فتولوا (٥) عن الايمان بالمسيح عند مبعثه ، واقاموا ينتظرون الاسد حتى (٦) ياكل التبن وتصح لهم حينئذ علامة (٧) المسيح • ويعتقدون ايضا ان هذا المنتظر متى جاءهم يجمعهم (٨) باسرهم الى القدس وتصير لهم الدولة ويخلو العالم من سواهم ، ويحجم الموت عن حياتهم (٩) المدة (١٠) الطويلة • وسبيلهم ان لا (١١) يعدلوا عن تتبع الاسود في غاباتها وطرح التبن بين ايديها ليعلموا وقت اكلها اياه (١٢) •

وايضا فانهم في العشر الاول (١٣) من (١٤) كل سنة يقولون في صلواتهم : (١٥) •

11a

אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו מלך על כל יושבי תבל ארצך ויאמר כל אשר נשמה באפו ארני אלהי ישראל מלך ומלכותו בכל משלת

تفسيره : يا الهنا واله ابائنا : املك على جميع اهل

ذلك ان الذئب والكبش يربضان معا ويرعيان جميعا وان الاسد ياكل التبن كالبقر • (٤) ط : صورهم • (٥) فتأولوها على (!) • (٦) ع : س • (٧) ط : ز : مبعث • د ، ع : العلائم بمبعث • (٨) ط : جمعهم • (٩) النصوص : جنابهم (استهزاء) • (١٠) د : المدد • (١١) ق : س • نصها : ان يعولوا على متابعة • (١٢) قفزة في ط الى « (وايضا) فان عندهم في التوراة » • (١٣) ع : ز : من الشهر الاول • (١٤) د : في • (١٥) د ، ع : صلاتهم •

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الارض ليقول كل ذي نسمة : اللـه الـه اسرائيـل قد ملك ومملكته في الكل متسلطنة (١أ) ٠

ويقولون في هذه الصلاة ايضا : وسيكون لله الملك وفي ذلك اليوم يكون اللـه واحدا (١) ٠

ويعنون بذلك انه لا يظهر ان الملك لله الا اذا صارت الدولة الى اليهود الذين هم امته وصفوته٠فاما ما دامت الدولة لغير اليهود فان الله خامل الذكر عند الامم ، وانه مطعون في ملكه ، مشكوك في قدرته ٠ فهذا معنى قولهم « اللهم املك على جميع اهل الارض» ومعنى قولهم«وسيكون الملك لله»٠

ومما ينخرط في هذا السلك قولهم :

למה יאמרו הגויים איה נא אלהיהם

تفسيره :لمَ تقول الامم اين الاههم ٠

وقولهم :

עורה למה תישן אדני הקיצה משנתך

تفسيره : انتبه لِمَ تنام يا رب ، استيقظ من رقدتك (٢) ٠

وهؤلاء انما نطقوا بهذه الهذيانات والكفريات من شدة التضجر من الذل والعبودية والصغار وانتظار فرج لا يزداد منهم

11a

(١ أ) ٠ ك : متسلطة ٠ (١) د ، ع : واحد ٠ (٢) حاشية ق : هذا القول منهم

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إلا بعدا · فاوقعهم ذلك في الطيش والضجر واخرجهم الى نوع من التزندق (٣) والهذيان الذي لا تستحسنه الا عقولهم الركيكة · فتجرؤوا على الله بهذه المناجات القبيحة كأنهم ينخون الله بذلك لينتخي لهم ويحمي لنفسه لانهم اذا ناجوا ربهم بذلك فكأنهم يخبرونه بأنه قد اختار الخمول لنفسه و ينخونه للنباهة واشتهار (٤) الصيت · فترى احدهم اذا تلا هذه الكلمات في الصلاة يقشعرّ جلده ولا يشك في ان كلامه (٤) يقع عند الله بموقع عظيم وانه يؤثر في ربه ويحركه بذلك ويهزه و ينخبه · وهولاء على الحقيقة ينبغي ان يرحم جهلهم وضعف عقولهم ·

وايضا فان عندهم في توراتهم ان موسى صعد الجبل مع

11b

مشائخ امته فابصروا الله جهرة وتحت رجليه كرسي منظره كمنظر البلور ·

ذلك قولـه (١) :

دليل على شدّة كفرهم بهذه الالفاظ القبيحة لعنهم الله تعالى · (٣) د : زندقة · ع : الزندقة · (٤) ع : كلماته تقع · وتحريف العبارة في د ·

11b

(١) في ط فيما يلي تظهر الجمل العبرانية بحروف عربية اولا · (٢) د ،

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ויראו את אלהי ישראל ותחת רגליו כמראה לבנת הספיר וכעצם השמים לטהר.

ويزعمون ان اللوحين مكتوبان باصبع الله ، في (٢) قولهم

באצבע אלהים

ويطول الكتاب اذا (٣) عددنا ما عندهم من كفريات التجسيم (٤) ، على ان احبارهم قد تهذبوا كثيرا من (٥) معتقد اسلافهم بما استفادوه من (٦) توحيد المسلمين ، واعربوا عن تفسير ما (٧) عندهم بما يدفع عنهم انكار المسلمين عليهم ، مما لا (٨) تقتضيه الالفاظ التي فسّروها ونقلوها . وصاروا متى سئلوا عما عندهم من هذه الفضائح استتروا بالجحد والبهتان خوفا من فظيع (٩) ما يلزمهم من الشناعة .

ومن ذلك انهم ينسبون (١٠) الى الله سبحانه الندم على ما يفعل . فمن ذلك قولهم في التوراة التي بايديهم :

וינחם ה' כי עשה את האדם בארץ ויתעצב אל לבו

تفسيره (١١) وندم الله على خلق البشر في الارض وشق عليه .

وقد افرط المترجم في تعصّبه وتحريفه للالفاظ عن (١٢)

ط ، ع : ذلك . (٣) د ، ع : ان . (٤) ط : ز : والتشبيه . (٥) د : عنده . (٦) ٦ كلمات س في ع . (٧) ع : تفسيرها عندهم . (٨) د ، ع : س . (٩) ق : تضييع . (١٠) ط ، ع تواصلان : الله تعالى الى الندم . (١١) ط : تأويله . (١٢) هكذا في د . ط . في سائر

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موجب اللغة وفسّر « ويناحم ادوناي » ـ « وثاب ادوناي بميمره » ٠

וינחם ה׳ — ותב אדני במימרה

يعني «وعاد الله في رأيه»٠

وهذا التأويل (١٣) ، وإن كان غير موافق للغة ، فهو ايضا كفر ، بل مناقض لما يدفعونه من البداء والنسخ ٠ واما الدليل على ان (١٤) تفسير (١٥) «ويتعصب ال لبو» ـ

ויתעצב אל לבו

« وشق عليه » فهو ما جاء في مخاطبة حوا عليها السلام :

בעצב תלדי בנים

تفسيره (١١)

« بمشقة تلدين الاولاد » ٠

فقد تبيّن ان ال « عيصب » (١٦) في اللسان العبراني هو

12a

المشقة(١)٠ وهذه الآية عندهم في قصة(٢) قوم نوح٠ زعموا ان الله تعالى، لما رأى فساد قوم نوح وأنّ شرهم وكفرهم

النصوص : على ٠ (١٣) د ، ط ، ع : ز : ايضا ٠ (١٤) د : س ٠ (١٥) د : تفسيره ٠ (١٦) د ز : عندهم ٠

12a

(١) باقي الفقرة س في ط ٠ (٢) د ، ط ، ع : س ٠ (٣) د ، ع :

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قد عظّما (٣) ، ندم على خلق البشر (٤) وشق عليه ، ولا يعلمون (٥) البله أنّ (٦) من يقول بهذه المقالة لزمه (٧) ان الله (٨) قبل ان يخلق البشر لم يكن عالما بما سيكون من قوم نوح; وغير ذلك من النقص، تعالى الله عما يكفرون. (٨أ)

وعندهم ايضا ان الله تعالى قال لشموايل النبي عليه السلام:

נחמתי כי המלכתי את שאול למלך על ישראל

تفسيره (٩) : ندمت اني (١٠) وليت شاول ملكا على بني اسرائيل

وفي موضع آخر من مصاحفهم

וה' נחם כי המליך את שאול על ישראל

تفسيره : والله ندم على تمليكه شاؤول على اسرائيل(١١)

وايضا فان عندهم (١٢) ان نوحا النبي عليه السلام ، لما خرج من (١٣) السفينة بدأ (١٤) ببناء مذبح لله تعالى وقرب (١٥) قرابين. ويتلو ذلك :

וירח ה' את ריח הנחוח ויאמר ה' אל לבו לא אוסף עוד לקלל את האדמה בעבור האדם כי יצר לב האדם רע מנעוריו ולא אוסיף עוד להכות את כל חי כאשר עשיתי.

عظم . (٤) د : قفزة الى «البشر» . (٥) ع : يعلم . (٦) في ر ، ك فقط . (٧) ع : يلزمه . (٨) ع : ز : كان . (٨ أ) ر : يشركون . (٩) ط : تأويله . (١٠) د : اذ . (١١) اسقطت هذه الفقرة من عا ، ق ، ك ، في ر ، ط ناقصة «آخر» وبدلا من «مصاحفهم» نجد «سفر سموائيل» . راجع رقم ٩ . (١٢) د ، ط ، ع : ز : في كتابهم . (١٣) ط : ز : التابوت اي . حاشية ق : وهذا القول ايضا اقبح من الاوّل لدعواهم بالتجسيم والمكان وغيره . (١٤) د : س . (١٥) ر ، ط ، ق ، ك : ز : عليه . د :

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تفسيره (٩) : فاستنشق الله رائحة القتار فقال الله تعالى في ذاته لن اعاود لعنة الارض بسبب الناس لان خاطر البشري مطبوع على الرداءة (١٦) ولن اعاود اهلاك جميع الحيوان كما صنعت٠

ولسنا نرى (١٧) ان هذه الكفريات كانت في التوراة المنزلة على موسى ، صلوات الله عليه . ولا نقول ايضا ان اليهود قصدوا تغييرها (١٨) وافسادها ، بل الحق اولى ما اتبع٠ ونحن نذكر الآن حقيقة سبب تبديل التوراة ٠

12b

ذكر (١) السبب في تبديل التوراة (٢)

إن (٣) هذه التوراة التي بايديهم لا يعتقد احد من (٤)

ز : على ٠ (١٦) ع : الردة ٠ (١٧) ط : تقول ٠ (١٨) ط تواصل : وتبديل جميع (؟) ما عندهم من الابدال بل الحق اولى ما اتبع وهو ان هذه التوراة الخ ٠ (يعني ـ انتقال الى مادة الفقرة التالية) ٠

12b

(١) العنوان س في ط ٠ (٢) ر ، ق ، ك : علماؤهم واحبارهم يعلمون ان ٠٠٠ لا يعتقد احد من علمائهم واحبارهم ٠ في ع شبه هذا ولكن النهاية «احد منهم» ٠ ابن قيّم (اغاثة ، جلد ٢ ، ص ٣٥٨) يسرد : علماء اليهود واحبارهم يعتقدون ان هذه التوراة التي بايديهم ليست هي التي انزلها الله تعالى ٠ وفي كتابه الهداية الخ (جلد ٢ ، ص ٤٠) : علماء القوم واحبارهم يعلمون ان هذه التوراة التي بايديهم لا يعتقد احد من علمائهم الخ٠ القرافي يسرد : ان احبار اليهود يعلمون علما يقينا ٠ (٣) ط : وهو ان ٠ (٤) د ، ع : منهم ٠

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علمائهم (٥) واحبارهم (٥) انها المنزلة على موسى البتة ، لأن (٦) موسى صان التوراة عن بني اسرائيل ولم يشهرها (٧) فيهم • وانما سلمها الى عشيرته اولاد ليوي • ودليل ذلك قول التوراة :

ויכתב משה את התורה הזאת ויתנה אל הכהנים לבני לוי

تفسيره : وكتب موسى هذه التوراة ودفعها الى الأئمة لبني ليـوي •

وكان بنو هارون قضاة اليهود وحكامهم ، لأن الإمامة وخدمة القرابين وبيت المقدس كانت موقوفة عليهم • ولم يبذل موسى من التوراة لبني اسرائيل الا نصف سورة يقال لها «هاازينو» • فان هذه السورة من التوراة هي التي علمها موسى لبني اسرائيل • ذلك قوله :

ויכתב משה את השירה הזאת וילמדה לבני ישראל

تفسيره: وكتب موسى هذه السورة وعلمها لبني اسرائيل •

وايضا فان الله قال لموسى عن هذه السورة :

והיתה לי השירה הזאת לעד בבני ישראל

تفسيره : وتكون لي هذه السورة شاهدا على بني اسرائيل •

(٥) د ، ع : س • (٦) ط تواصل : لانهم يعلمون ان الكهنة الذين كانوا يعرفون التوراة • راجع هنا ص ١٣ أ • (٧) ع : بينها • : بينها • (٨) د ، ر ، ع ، ك : بني • (٩) د ، ع : يخالفـون •

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وايضا فان الله قال لموسى عن هذه السورة :

כי לא תשכח מפי זרעם.

تفسيره : لان هذه السورة لا تنسى من افواه اولادهم ٠

يعني ان هذه السورة مشتملة على ذم طباعهم وانهم سيخالفون (٩) شرائع التوراة ، وان السخط يأتيهم بعد ذلك

13a

وتخرب ديارهم ويشتتون في البلاد٠قال:فهذهالسورة تكون متداولة في افواههم كالشاهد عليهم الموافق (١) لهم على صحة ما قيل لهم ٠ فهذه السورة ،لما قال الله تعالى (٢) «لا تنسى من افواه اولادهم» ، دل ذلك على ان الله تعالى (٣) علم ان (٣) غيرها من السور تنسى٠ وايضا فان هذا دليل على ان موسى لم يُعطِ بني اسرائيل من التوراة الا هذه السورة٠ فاما بقية التوراة فدفعها إلى اولاد هارون وجعلها فيهم وصانها عنسواهم ٠ وهؤلاء الأئمةالهارونيون (٤) الذين كانوا يعرفون التوراة ويحفظون (٤أ) اكثرها قتلهم بخت نصر على (٥) دم واحد (٥) يوم فتح بيت المقدس (٦) ٠ ولم (٧) يكن (٨) حفظ التوراة فرضا ولا

13a

(١) ع : و ٠ (٢) د ، ع ، ك : ز : عنها انها ٠ د : ز : انها ٠ (٣) د ، ع : س ٠ (٤) تستأنف ط هنا : لانهم يعلمون ان الكهنة ٠ (٤ أ) ر : ويحفظها ٠ س : اكثرها ٠ (٥) ط : س ٠ (٦) ط : ز : لأن القوم ٠

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سُنَّة ، بل كان كل واحد من الهارونيين (٩) يحفظ فصلا من التوراة • فلما رأى عزرا ان القوم قد أُحرق هيكلهم وزالت دولتهم وتفرق (١٠) جمعهم ورفع كتابهم ، جمع من محفوظاته ومن الفصول التي يحفظها الكهنة ما لفق منه هذه التوراة التي بايديهم (١١) الآن (١٢)• ولذلك بالغوا في تعظيم عزرا هذا غاية المبالغة وزعموا ا ن النور الى الآن يظهر على قبره الذي عند بطائح العراق (١٣) لأنه عمل لهم كتابا يحفظ (١٤) دينهم • فهذه التوراة التي بايديهم (١١) على الحقيقة كتاب عزرا وليست كتاب الله (١٥) •

وهذا يدل على انه (١٦) أعني الذي جمع هذه الفصول التي بايديهم (١١) رجل فارغ جاهل بالصفات الالهية ، فلذلك نسب الى الله تعالى صفات التجسيم والندامة (١٧) على ما مضى من افعاله والاقلاع عن مثلها (١٨) مما تقدم ذكره•

وايضا فمما يستدل به على بطلان تأويلاتهم وإفراطهم في

(٧) ط : لم • (٨) ط : ز : عندهم • (٩) ط : الكهنة اعني اولاد هارون تلقّن فصلا يحفظ من فصول التوراة • ولست اعني بالكاهن ما تعنيه العرب من صاحب الكهانة لانّ اليهود يدعون بمنع اولاد هارون النبي منه • فلما الخ• (١٠) ط : وتفرقت شملهم • (١١) د ، ع : في ••• (١٢) في ق فقط • (١٣) د : البطائح • د ، ع : بالعراق • (١٤) د ، ع : ز : لهم • (١٥) في ط س الجملة التالية • (١٦) في ر ، ع فقط • (١٧) ع : والندم • (١٨) د ، ر ، ع ، ك : ز : وغير ذلك • (١٩)

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التعصب وتشديد الامر (١٩) ما ذكروه (٢٠) في تفسير (٣) هـذه الآيـة٠

ראשית בכורי אדמתך תביא בית ה׳ אלהיך
לא תבשל גדי בחלב אמו.

تفسيره (٢١) : بكور ثمار ارضك تحمل (٢٢) الى بيت الله ربك لا تنضج الجدي بلبن امه٠

13b

والمراد من ذلك انهم امروا (١) ، عقيب افتراض الحج عليهم ، ان يستصحبوا معهم ، اذا حجوا الى القدس ، ابكار اغنامهم وابكار مستغلات ارضهم ، لانهم قد كان (٢) فرض عليهم قبل ذلك ان تبقى سخولة (٣) البقر والغنم وراء (٤) امهاتها (٤) سبعة ايام (٥) ، ومن اليوم الثامن فصاعدا تصلح ان تكون قربانا لله ٠ فأشار في هذه الآية في قوله (لا تنضج

في د ، ع دائما «احد» بدلا من امر ٠ (٢٠) د ، ع : ذكره ٠ (٢١) ط : تأويله الحقيقي ٠ (٢٢) ط : تقرب ٠

13b

(١) ط : ز : في ٠ (٢) د ، ع : س٠ (٣) ط : اولاد ٠ ع : سخول (٤) ط : س ٠ (٥) ط يواصل : وراء امهاتها وبعد ذلك تصلح لان تكون قربانا مرضيا ٠ فلا ذكر في هذا الموضع ان يستصحبه الحجاج معهم الى المقدس في ابكار الغلات ٠ امرهم ايضا باستصحاب ابكار الاغنام وأن لا يطبلوا مكثها وراء الامهات ٠ ذلك معنى قوله لا تنضج الجدي بلبن امه٠ ذلك أن المترجم توهم هذا الانضاج اشارة الى الطبخ٠ فتوهم ان ذلك اشارة الى تحريم طبخ الجدي بلبن امه٠ ثم افرط حتى حظر الأكل ، ثم

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الجدي بلبن امه) الى انهم لا يبالغوا في اطالة مكث بكور اولاد الغنم والبقر وراء امهاتهن (٦) بل يستصحبوا ابكارهن اللاتي قد عبرن سبعة ايام من ميلادهن معهم ، اذا حجوا الى بيت المقدس، ليتخذوا منها القرابين. فتوهم المشائخ البله المترجمون لهذه الآية والمفسرون لمعانيها ان المشرع يريد بالانضاج هكذا (٧) انضاج الطبيخ في القدر. وهبهم صادقين في هذا التفسير فلا يلزم من تحريم الطبخ تحريم الاكل اذ لو اراد المشرع (٨) الاكل لما منعه مانع من (٩) التصريح بذلك. وما كفاهم هذا الغلط في تفسير هذه اللفظة حتى حرموا اكل سائر اللحمان باللبن . وهذا مضاف الى ما يستدل به على جهل المفسرين والنقلة ، وكذبهم على الله ، وتشديد الاصر (١٠) على طائفتهم .

فاما الدليل على تفسير « تبشيل » الانضاج الذي هو البلوغ فهو قول رئيس السقاة ليوسف الصديق وهما (١١) في السجن

تجاوز الافراط الى أن جعل التحريم شائعاً في سائر اللحمان . فقال تفسير هذه الآية - لا تأكل لحماً بلبن . وهذا لعمري ، غير ما قال الله ، لانه في غاية البعد عمّا تقتضيه الالفاظ اللغوية . وهذا الافراط في تبديل كلام الله مما لا يجوز لأحد قبوله لان الله تعالى لو اراد تحريم اكل اللحم باللبن ، لما منعه من التصريح بذلك مانع . ولذلك تتضح ضلالتهم في تفسير سائر ما حرفوا ترجمته وعدلوا به الى تشديد الاصر على جماعتهم . تتلو الفقرة «ولا ينبغي الخ» (الصفحة التالية) . (٦) في ع المؤنث المفرد في هذه الجملة . (٧) د ، ع : هاهنا . (٨) د ، ع : ز : تحريم . (٩) د ، ك : عن . (١٠) د ، ع : الاكل . (١١) د ، ع : وهو .

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اذا شرح له رؤياه فقال في جملة كلامه :

ובגפן שלשה שרגים והיא כפורחת עלתה נצה הבשילו אשכלותיה

تفسيره : وفي الكرمة ثلاثة عناقيد وهي كأنها قد اثمرت وصعد نوارها ونضجت عناقيدها عنبا ٠

14a

فقد تبين ان الانضاج الذي يعبر عنه با «هبشيلو» انما هو البلوغ ٠

ولا ينبغي للعاقل (١) ان يستبعد اصطلاح كافة هذه الطائفة على المحال واتفاقهم على فنون (٢) من الكفر والضلال ٠ فان الدولة ، اذا انقرضت على (٣) امة باستيلاء غيرها عليها (٤) واخذها بلادها ، انطمست حقائق سالف (٥) اخبارها ، واندرس قديم آثارها ، وتعذر الوقوف عليها (٦) ٠ لان الدولة انما يكون زوالها عن امة بتتابع الغارات والمصافّات (٧) ، واخراب البلاد واحراق بعضها ٠ فلا تزال هذه الفنون متتابعة عليها (٤) الى ان تستحيل علومها جهلا (٨) ٠

وكلما كانت الامة اقدم واختلفت عليها الدول المتناولة

14a

(١) ط : لاحد العقلاء ٠ (٢) د ، ع : فنونهم ٠(٣) د ، ع : عن ٠ (٤) د ، ع : س ٠ (٥) ط : س ٠ ثم : واندرست آثارها ٠ (٦) ط : على حقائق اخبارها السالفة ٠ (٧) د ، ع : المضايقات ٠ (٨) ر ، ط ،

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بها (٩) بالاذلال والايذاء (٤) ، كان حظها من اندراس الآثار اكثر • وهذه الطائفة ، بلا شك ، اعظم الطوائف حظا مما ذكرناه (١٠) لانها من اقدم الامم عهدا ، ولكثرة الامم التي استولت عليها من (١١) الكسدانيين والبابليين والفرس واليونان والنصارى والاسلام • وما من هذه الامم الا من قصدهم اشد القصد ، وطلب استيصالهم وبالغ في احراق بلادهم واخرابها واحراق كتبهم الا المسلمين •

فان الاسلام صادف اليهود تحت ذمة الفرس • ولم يبق لهم مدينة و لاجيش الا العرب المتهودة (١٢) بخيبر (١٣)• فأشد على اليهود من جميع هذه الممالك (١٤) ما نالهم من ملوكهم العصاة ، مثل اخاب وأحزيا وامصيا ويهورام ويربعام بن نباط وغيرهم من الملوك الاسرائيليين الذين قتلوا الانبياء وبالغوا في تطلبهم ليقتلوهم،وعبدوا الاصنام (١٥) ،واحضروا من البلاد سدنة للاصنام لتعظيمها وتعليم رسوم عبادتها (١٦)، وابتنوا لها البيع العظيمة (١٧) والهياكل وعكف على عبادتها (١٦) الملوك ومعظم بني اسرائيل وتركوا

عا : ز : وكثرتها قلا • د : واثرها قلا • ع : وآثارها تلالا • (٩) د ، ع : لها • (١٠) د ، ع : ذكرنا • (١١) د ، ع : مثل• (١٢) عا : المشهورة• (١٣) ط ، عا ، ك : بخيابر • (١٤) د : المملكات • (١٥) ط تواصل : لتعظيمها وتعليمهم • (١٦) د ، ط ، ع : عباداتها • (١٧) ع : س •

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14b

احكام(١) التوراة والشرع(٢)مدة (٣) طويلةواعصارا متصلة٠

واذا(٤) كان هذا تواتر الآفات على(٥) شرعهم(٦) من قبل ملوكهم(٧) ومنهم(٨) على انفسهم، فما ظنك بالآفات المتفننة التي تواترت عليهم من استيلاء الامم فيما بعد عليهم (٩) ، وقتل (١٠) ائمتهم، واحراق (١٠) كتبهم ومنعهم اياهم عن القيام بشرائعهم ٠

فان الفرس (١١) كثيرا ما منعوهم عن الختانة (١٢) ، وكثيرا ما منعوهم عن الصلاة لمعرفتهم ان (١٣) معظم صلوات هذه الطائفة دعاء على الامم بالبوار وعلى العالم بالخراب ، سوى بلادهم التي هي ارض كنعان ٠ فلما رأت اليهود الجد من الفرس في منعهم عن الصلاة اخترعوا ادعية (١٤) مزجوا بها فصولا من صلاتهم وسموها الحزانة (١٥) ،وصاغوا لها الحانا عديدة ، وصاروا يجتمعون اوقات صلواتهم على تلحينها وتلاوتها ٠ والفرق بين هذه الحزانة وبين الصلاة ان الصلاة

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(١) ط : ترجمة ؟ (٢) ط : وشرعها ٠ (٣) عا ، ك : مددا ٠ (٤) د ، ع : فاذا ٠ (٥) د ، ع : عليهم ٠ (٦) د ، ع : س ٠ (٧) ق : ملكهم ٠ (٨) د ، ع : ومن (٩)ع: س(١٠)د،ع : وقتلهم ٠٠٠ واحراقهم ٠ (١١) ط تواصل : واليونان ايضا طال ما منعوهم عن الصلاة ٠ (١٢) د ، ع : الختان ٠ (١٣) د ،ع : بان ٠ (١٤) تابع ع : زعموا انها فصول ٠ (١٥)

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بغير لحن وان المصلي (١٦) يتلو الصلاة وحده (١٧) ولا يجهر معه غيره ; واما الحزان (١٨) فيشاركه جماعة في الجهر بالحزانة ويعاونونه في الالحان • فكانت الفرس اذا انكرت ذلك منهم، زعمت اليهود انهم يغنون (١٩) احيانا وينوحون (١٩) احيانا على انفسهم • فتركوهم (٢٠) وذلك •

ومن العجب ان دولة الاسلام ، لما جاءت مقرةً للذمة (٢١) على اديانها (٢٢)، وصارت الصلاة مباحة لهم صارت الخزانة عند اليهود من السنن المستحبة في الاعياد والمواسم (٢٣) والافراح يجعلونها عوضا عن الصلاة ويستغنون بها عنها من غير ضرورة تبعثهم على ذلك •

فصل (٢٤) فيما يعتقدونه في دين الاسلام

هم يزعمون ان المصطفى، صلعم(٢٥) وشرف وعظم وكرم كان قد رأى احلاما تدل على كونه (٢٦) صاحب دولة وانه

خزانة • (١٦) ط تواصل : اعني الذي قام بهم في الصلوة • (١٧) تابع ط : يجوز ان يجهر بالصلوة احد غيره • (١٨) ط : ز : فانه • (١٩) ط : ز : على انفسهم احيانا • (٢٠) ط : فكفوا عنهم • س : وذلك • (٢١) ط ، ع : لاهل الذمة • (٢٢) ط : اديانها • (٢٣) ط : ومواسم افراحهم • (٢٤) في ط جملة سابقة : فاما اعتقاد اليهود في المسلمين فمستهزئة الآن• (٢٥) ط ، ع : س ٣ كلمات • (٢٦) د ، ع : انه •

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سافر (١) الى الشام في تجارة لخديجة ، رضوان(٢) الله عليها واجتمع باحبار اليهود، وقصّ عليهم احلامه (٢أ)، فعلموا انه صاحب دولة (٣) ، فاصحبوه عبد الله بن سلام ،فقرأ عليه(٤) علوم التوراة وفقهها مدة . زعموا وافرطوا في دعواهم ، الى (٥) ان نسبوا الفصاحة المعجزة (٦) التي في القرآن الى تأليف (٧) عبد الله بن سلام، وانه قرّر في شرع (٨) النكاح ان الزوجة لا تستحل بعد الطلاق الثالث الا بنكاح (٩) آخر، ليجعل بزعمهم اولاد المسلمين « ممزريم » . وهذه كلمة جمع ، واحده « ممزير » ، وهو اسم لولد الزنا لان في شرعهم (١٠) ان الزوج ، اذا راجع زوجته بعد ان (١١) نكحت غيره ، كان اولادهما معدودين من (١٢) اولاد الزنا. فلما كان النسخ مما لا ينطبع فهمه (١٣) في عقولهم، ذهبوا الى (١٤) ان هذا (١٥) الحكم في (١٦) النكاح من

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(١) حاشية ق : انظر هؤلاء الكفرة لما يعتقدون في الانبياء واهل الاسلام . وينسبون بعض الانبياء الى الزنا وغيره . عليهم غضب الله ومقته ابدا . (٢) رحمة . (٢ أ) د : احلاما . (٣) ط : ز : بزعمهم . (٤) ط : على عبد الله علوم التوراة . زعموا وفقها مدة . وافرطوا . (٥) ط : ز : حد . (٦) ط : الاعجازية . (٧) ط : ز : اخيهم . (٨) ط : اصل . (٩) د ، ع : ز : رجل . (١٠) ط : ز : القديم . (١١) تواصل ط : تزوجت بغيره . (١٢) د ، ع : في (١٣) د، ع: س. (١٤) ط: س. (١٥)

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موضوعات عبد الله بن سلام ، قصد به ان يجعل اولاد المسلمين « ممزريم » ، بزعمهم ٠

ثم اكثر العجب منهم انهم جعلوا داود النبي عليه السلام «ممزير» من وجهين، وجعلوا منتظرهم «ممزير» (١٧) من وجهين٠وذلك(١٨) انهم لا يشكّون في ان داود بن يشاي بن عابد ، وابو هذا عابد يقال له بوعز من سبط (١٩) يهودا ، وامّه يقال لها روث المواية من بني مواب ، وهذا مواب منسوب عندهم ،في نص التوراة في هذه القصة٠وهي (٢٠) انه لما اهلك الله امّة لوط لفسادها ، ونجا بابنتيه فقط ، خالتا (٢١) ابنتاه أن (٢٢) الارض قد خلت ممن تستبقيان (٢٣) منه نسلا ٠ فقالت الكبرى للصغرى :

إن ابانا لشيخ ، وانسان لم يبق في الارض (٢٤) ليأتينا كسبيل البشر فهلمتي بنا نسقي ابانا خمرا ونضاجعه لنستبقي (٢٥) من ابينا نسلا ٠

ففعلتا ذلك ، بزعمهم ، وجعلوا ذلك النبي قد شرب الخمر حتى سكر ولم يعرف ابنتيه ٠ ثم وطئهما فأحبلهما ٠وهو لا

د، ع: س٠ (١٦) د، ط، ع: ز: شرع ٠ (١٧) ط : ز : فهذا ؟ (١٨) ق ، ك : س ٠ (١٩) ط : س : من سبط ٠ (٢٠) ع : وهو ٠ (٢١) ط : خالتا ابنتاها ان ٠ ع : خالتا اي ظن ابنتاه ٠ (٢٢) ك : س ٠ (٢٣) ق ، ك : جمع ٠ (٢٤) ٣ كلمات تالية س في د ، ع ٠ (٢٥) ع : لنبتغي٠

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يعرفهما • فولدت احداهما (١) ولدا سمّته مواب ، تعني انه من الأب • والثانية (٢) سمت ولدها بـن عمي ، تعني انّه (٣) من قبيلتها (٤) • وذانك الولدان عند اليهود من الـ «ممزريم» ضرورة (٥) ، لانهما من الأب وابنتيه • فان انكروا ذلك ، لان التوراة لم تكن نزلت ، لزمهم ذلك لان عندهم ان ابراهيم الخليل عليه السلام، لما خاف في ذلك العصر من ان يقتله المصريون بسبب زوجته، اخفى نكاحها، وقال ـ هي اختي ـ علما منه بأنه إذ قال ذلك ، لم يبقَ للظنون اليهما سبيل • وهذا (٦) دليل على ان حظر نكاح الاخت كان في ذلك الزمان مشروعا • فما ظنك بنكاح البنت الذي لا يجوز ولا في زمن آدم عليه السلام•

وهذه الحكاية منسوبة الى لوط النبي في التوراة الموجودة بايدي (٧)اليهود فلن يقدروا على جحدها(٨)• فيلزمهم من ذلك ان الولدين المنسوبين الى لوط ممزريم اذ توليدهما على خلاف المشروع • واذا كانت روث من ولد (٩) مواب،

15b

(١) ط : احدهنّ • ق : احدهما • (٢) ط : والاخرى • (٣) ع : ز : ولذلك ان الولد • (٤) ق ، ك : الابنة • د تواصل : وذلك ان الولد • (٥) ط : س • (٦) ط : ز : اظهر • (٧) د ، ع : في • (٨) د ، ك : جحدانها • ر : جحد لها • (٩) ط : بني •

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وهي جدّة داود عليه السلام وجدة مسيحهم المنتظر ، فقد جعلوهما جميعا من نسل الاصل الذي يطعنون فيه ٠

وايضا (٥) فمن افحش المحال ان يكون شيخ كبير قد قارب المائة سنة قد (١٠) سقى الخمر حتّى سكر سكرا حال بينه وبين (١١) معرفة ابنتيه ، فضاجعته احداهما واستنزلت منيَهُ (١٢) وقامت عنه وهو لا يشعر (١٢أ) كما (١٣) نطق كتابهم في قول(١٤)

ולא ידע בשכבה ובקומה

تفسيره (١٥) ولم يشعر باضطجاعها وقيامها (١٦) ٠

وهذا (١٧) حديث (١٨) مَن لا يعرف كيفية (١٩) الحبل، لانه من المحال ان تعلق المرأة من شيخ طاعن (٢٠) في السنّ قد غاب (٢١) حسُّه لفرط سكره ٠ ومما يؤكد (٣٢) استحالة ذلك انّهم زعموا ان (٢٣) ابنته الصغرى فعلت (٢٤) كذلك

(١٠)ق : ثم ٠ (١١) ق : س ٠ (١٢) ط : ز : وعلقت منه (١٢أ) ر : ز : قاتلهم الله انّى يؤفكون (القرآن ٣٠ ،٩) (١٣) ع : ز : قد ٠ في ر قبل كلمة (كما) مثل ما في (١٢أ) ٠ (١٤) ع ،ك : قوله ٠ (١٥) هنا تبتدىء المخطوطة الموجودة في باريس (ب) ٠ (١٦) ط : ولا بقيامها ٠ ب ، ط ـ مثنى هنا وبالكلمة السابقة ٠ (١٧) ط : فان هذا ٠ (١٨) ط : كلام ٠ (١٩) ع : س ٠ (٢٠) ط : بالغ ٠ (٢١) د ، ع : ز : عن ٠ ط : ز : عنه ٠ (٢٢) ط : يدلّ على ٠ (٢٣) ط : ز : اختها اعني ٠ (٢٤) ط تتابع : به مثل ذلك في ٠

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به في الليلة الثانية (١) فعلقت ايضا • وهذا ممتنع من المشائخ الكبار ان يعلق (٢) من احدهم في ليلة ويعلق منه ايضا (٣) في الليلة الثانية (٤) ، الا انّ العداوة التي ما زالت بين بني عمون ومواب وبين بني اسرائيل بعثت واضع هذا الفصل على تلفيق هذا المحال ، ليكون اعظم الاخبار فحشا في حقّ بني عمون ومواب•

وايضا فان عندهم ان موسى جعل الامامة في الهارونيين • فلما (٥) ولى طالوت، وثقلت وطئته على الهارونيين ، وقتل منهم مقتلة عظيمة ، ثمّ انتقل الامر الى داود ، بقى في نفوس الهارونيين التشوّق الى الامر الذي زال عنهم • وكان هذا (٦) عزرا خادما لملك (٧) الفرس خطيًّا لديه (٨) • فتوصل (٩) الى بنـاء بيت المقدس ،وعمل لهم هـذه التوراة التي بايديهم •

فلما كان هارونيًّا كره ان يتولّى عليهم في الدولة الثانية داوديّ • فأضاف في (١٠) التوراة فصلين طاعنين في نسب

16a

(١) د : وتعلق منه في الليلة الثانية • ثم قفزة الى الاخ • (٢) ع : تعلق امرأة • (٣) ع : ز : الاخرى • (٤) ط : ز : ولا سيّما انه على غاية من الخمر والسكر المفرط • ثم قفزة الى الفقرة الخامسة • (٥) د : س الى وقتل • (٦) ع : س • (٧) كذا في ب ، ع • ق : س • (٨) د ، ع : عنده • (٩) ع : فتوسط • (١٠) ب ، ع : الى •

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داود : احداهما قصة بنات لوط ، والآخر قصة ثامار وسيأتي ذكرها• ولقد بلغ لعمري، غرضه ! فانّ الدولة الثانية التي كانت (١١) لهم في بيت المقدس لم يملك (١٢) عليهم فيها داوديون ، بل كانت ملوكَهم هارونيّون •

وهذا عزرا ليس هو العُزير ، كما يُظن، لانّ العُزير هو (١٣) تعريب العازار • فاما عزرا فانّه اذ عُرّب ، لم يتغيَّر عن حاله ، لانه اسم خفيف الحركات والحروف ولانّ عزرا عندهم ليس بنبي وانّما يسمُّونه عـزرا هسوفير ، وتفسيره الناسخ•

وايضا فانّ عندهم في التوراة قصّة اعجب من هذه (١٤) وهي ان يهودا بن يعقوب النبيّ عليه السلام زوّج ولده الاكبر من امرأة يقال لها تامار• وكان يأتيها مستدبراً فغضب الله من فعله فاماته • فزوّجها (١٥) من ولده الآخر فكان اذا دخل

16b

بها امنى على الارض علما منه بانّه، ان اولدها ، كان اول الاولاد مدعوا (١) باسم اخيه ومنسوبا الى اخيه • فكره الله

(١١) ع : ز : بنت • (١٢) ع : يتملك•(١٣)ب: س •(١٤) ب: هذا(١٥) ب ، د : يهودا • ط : فزوج يهودا ولده الآخر بها •

16b

(١) د ، ع : س • (٢) ب : ز : منه • (٣) ط : بيت ايها • ب : الى

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(٢) ذلك من فعله فاماته ايضا • فامرها يهودا باللحاق بأهلها (٣) الى ان يكبر شيلا ولده ويتمّ عقله ، حذراً من ان يصيبه ما اصاب اخويه • فاقامت في بيت ابيها • فماتت من(١) بعد زوجة يهودا واصعد (٤) الى منزل يقال له تمناث ، ليجزّ غنمه فلما أخبرت تامار بإصعاد حميها (٥) الى تمنات ، لبست زيّ الزواني وجلست في مستشرف (٦) على طريقه ، لعلمها بشيَمه(٧)• فلمَّا مرَّ بها ، خالها (٨) زانية فَراودها ، فطالبته بالاجرة ، فوعدها بجدي ، ورهن عندها عصاه وخاتمه (٩) ، ودخل بها فعلقت منه بفارص وزارح •ومن نسل هذا فارص كان بوعز المتزوّج بروث التي من نسل مواب،ومن ولدها كان داود النَّبي •

وايضا ففي هذه الحكاية دقيقة ملزمة بالنَّسخ • وهي ان يهودا ، لما أخبر بانَّ كنَّته قد علقت من الزناء ، افتى باحراقها • فبعثت اليه بخاتمه وعصاه وقالت : «من ربّ هذين انا حامل» • فقال: «صدقت مني »• ذلك (١٠) واعتذر بانَّه لم يعرفها ولم (١١) يعاودها • وهذا يدل على ان شريعة ذلك الزمان كانت مقتضية إحراق الزواني ، وان التوراة اتت

اهلها • (٤) ق : وصعد • (٥) د : زوجها • (٦) ط : ز : لها • ك : في • (٧) ع : بشيمته • (٨) د : ز : ورآها في • (٩) ق : وختامه • (١٠) حاشية ق : وهذا ايضا من جملة النسخ • (١١) تواصل ط : يستحل

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بنسخ ذلك واوجبت الرجم عليهنّ ٠

وفيها (١٢) ايضا من(١٣)نسبتهم الزناء والكفر الى اهل(١٤) بيت النبوة ، (١٥) ما يقارب (١٦) ما نسبوه الى لوط النبيّ ٠

وهذا (١٧) كلُّه عندهم في نصّ كتابهم ٠ وهم يجعلون هذا نسبا لداود وسليمان ولمسيحهم المنتظر ٠ ثم يرون (١٨) المسلمين احق بهذا اللقب من منتظرهم ٠ وكذبهم في هذا القول (١٩) من اظهر الامور وأبينها ٠

17a

فأما دفعهم لاعجاز القرآن للفصحاء فلست (١) اعجب منه اذ كانوا لا يعرفون من العربيّة (٢) ما يفرّقون به بين الفصاحة والعيّ ، مع طول مكثهم فيما بين المسلمين ٠

وايضا (٣) فمن اعتراضهم على المسلمين انّهم يقولون : «كيف يجوز ان ينسب الى الله كتاب ينقض بعضه بعضا؟» يريدون بذلك (٤) ـ ينسخ بعضه بعضاً٠ فنقول لهم : (٥) اما

معاودتها ولا تسليمها الى ولده ٠ (١٢) ب ، ط ، ع : وفيه ٠ (١٣) ر ، عا ، ق ، ك : س ٠ (١٤) عا ، ق ، ك : س ٠(١٥) ط : الانبياء (فقط) ٠ (١٦) ط تتابع : الكفر الذي ذكروه في قصة لوط ٠ (١٧) ط : وذلك ٠ (١٨) ب ، د ، ع : ز : ان ٠ (١٩) ط : الامر ٠

17a

(١) د : فليس ٠ ر ، ع : فليست ٠ ثم د ، ع : باعجب٠ (٢) ط تواصل : دفائن الفصاحة والعي ٠ (٣) في ط تجد هذه الفقرة بعد التالية ٠ (٤) ط بهذا ٠ (٥) في د ، ع قفزة الى «ما تقولون»٠ ط : ز : في جواب

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تحسين جواز ذلك فقد ذكرناه في اوّل هذه الكلمة ، واما تعجُّبكم منه وتشنيعكم به فان كتابكم غير خالٍ من مثله فان انكروا ذلك قلنا لهم : ما تقولون في السبت ، ايهما اقدم ، افتراضها (٥أ) عليكم او افتراض الصوم الاكبر ؟ فيقولون: «السبت اقدم» (٦) ، لانّهم ، ان قالوا «الصوم اقدم» ، كذّبناهم بان السبت فرضت عليهم في اوّل اعطائهم المنّ ، والصوم الاكبر فرض عليهم بعد نزول اللوحين ومخالفتهم وعبادتهم العجل . ولما رفع (٧) عنهم عقاب ذنبهم ذلك ، في ذلك اليوم ، فرض عليهم صومه وتعظيمه . فاذا اقرّوا بتقديم السبت قلنا لهم : ما تقولون في يوم السبت ، هل فرضت فيه عليكم الراحة والدعة وتحريم المشقّات ام لا ؟ فيقولون : بلى . فنقول لهم : فلمَ فرضتم فيه الصوم اذا اتّفق صومكم الاكبر يوم السبت مع كون صومكم فرض بعد فريضة السبت، ولكم في ذلك الصوم انواع من المشقّة ، منها القيام

ذلك . (٥ أ) يعني افتراض فريضة السبت . (٦) د : فان قالوا . (٧) ع : رفع . (٨) ط تتابع : فقد لزمهم ان في التوراة ناسخ ومنسوخ . ذلك ما اردنا ان نبيّن . وتتلو خاتمة الكتاب (ص ٢٢ ب) . (٩) راجع ٣ . ط : وايضا فان بغضهم للمسلمين اشدّ من سائر الطوائف . ولذلك لا يسمون المصطفى الا هذين الاسمين ، احدهما משוגע مشوكاع ، وتأويله مجنون ، والثاني פסול فاسول وتأويله الساقط . لا اسم له فيما بينهم

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جميع النهار. أليس هذا ايضا قد نسخ فريضة السبت ؟ (٨)

واما (٩) سيدنا(١٠) رسول الله ، صلى الله عليه وسلم (١١) وعظم وكرم ، فله فيما بينهم اسمان فقط (١٢) ، فعليهم لعنة

פסול

الله والملائكة والناس اجمعين. احدهما (فاسول) وتفسيره

17b

משוגע

الساقط والثاني (مشكاع) وتأويله المجنون . واما القران العظيم (١) فانهم (٢) يسمّونه (٣) فيما (٤) بينهم

קלון

(٥) (قالون) وهو اسم للسوءة بلسانهم ، يعنون بذلك انه عورة المسلمين (٦) .

وبذلك (٧) وامثاله صاروا اشدّ عداوة للذين آمنوا فكيف لا يلعنهم الله ويلعنهم اللاعنون (٨)

غير ذلك . (١٠) ب ، د ، ع : س . ب تسقط الكلمتين التاليتين . (١١) ع : وشرف . (١٢) ب : س٦ كلمات تالية .

17b

(١) ب : س . (٢) ب ، ع : فانه . (٣) ب ، ع : يسمى . (٤) ط : س . (٥) ط : بلسانهم . (٦) ب ، د ، ع : وسوأتهم . ط : وفضيحتهم . (٧) في ط قفزة الى (فكيف) . (٨) ط يواصل . وهذا مع كونهم وجدوا الراحة العظيمة وادركوا السعادة الكبيرة بدولة الاسلام ، لانها كانت اخفّ وطأة عليهم من سائر الدول . فانهم كانوا تحت طاعة الروم في ذمتهم على اقبح الاحوال وأغلظها . فانهم كانوا يمنعونهم من القيام بشرائعهم ، فوقت يمنعونهم عن الصلوة ووقت عن الختانة . وكانت دولة الفرس اشدّ وطأة عليهم واثقل. فاما دولة الاسلام فانها كانت اخفّ

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فصل معرب عن بعض فضائحهم

יבמה

ومن الفضائح التي عندهم (٩) مذهبهم في قصّة اليبامـا

ז׳ב׳ח׳

والحالوص • وذلك انّهم امروا انه (١٠) اذا أقام اخوان في موضع واحد ومات احدهما ولم يعقب ولدا فلا تخرج امرأة الميت الى رجل اجنبي ، بل ولد حميها ينكحها واول ولد يولدها ينسب الى اخيه الدارج • فان ابى ان ينكحها خرجت (١١) مشتكيةً منه (١٠) الى مشيخة قومها قائلة

قد ابى ابن حمي ان يستبقي اسم (١٢) اخيه في اسرائيل ولم يرد نكاحي

فيحضره الحاكم هناك ويكلفه ان يقف (١٠) ويقول (١٣)

من سائر الدول وارحم لهم اذ اقتنع منهم باداء الجزية والدخول في الطاعة• واقرّوا على دينهم • وذلك لو انصفوا ، لطف واحسان لم يعهدوهما من سائر الدول التي تقدمت الاسلام • وهم ، في جواب ذلك ، يدعون على الاسلام في كل صلوة • ذلك قولهم•(ثم الجملة العبرية بحروف عربية) تأويله ومملكة الفحشاء اهدمها واقلعها في ايّامنـا • (يتبع الاعتراض اليهودي على القرآن راجع الفقرة الثانية ص ١٧ أ) • (٩) د ، ع : ز : في • (١٠) د ، ع : س • (١١) ع : س • (١٢) ب ، د ، ع : اسماً ل•• (١٣) د ، ع : يقول •

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לא חפצתי לקחתה

تفسيره ما اردت نكاحها

فتتناول المرأة نعله فتخرجها عن (١٤) رجله وتمسكها بيدها وتبصق في وجهه وتنادي عليه

ככה יעשה לאיש אשר לא יבנה את בית אחיו

تفسيره كذا فاليصنع بالرجل الذي لا يبني بيت اخيه ويُدعى فيما بعد اسمه بالمخلوع النعل وينبز بيته بهذا اللقب ، أعني بيت المخلوع النعل . هذا كلُّه مفترض فى التوراة عليهم . وفيه حكمة ملجئة للرجل الى نكاح من زوجة اخيه الدارج لانَّه اذا علم انه قد فرض على المرأة أن تشتكيه الى نادي قومها فذلك (١٥) ممَّا يحمله على نكاحها . فان لم يردعه الحياء (١٦) من ذلك فربَّما اذا حضر استحى ان يقول ما اردتُ نكاحها ، فان لم يخجله ذلك

18a

فربما يستحي من انتهاك العرض بخلع نعله وكون المرأة تشيل نعله ، وتبصق في وجهه ، وتنادي عليه بقلَّة البركة والمروءة . فان هو استهان بذلك فربَّما استعظم ان ينبز باللقب ويبقى عليه وعلى آله من بعده عاره وقبح اسمه فيلجئه ذلك الى نكاحها . فان كان من الزهد فيها بحيث

(١٤) ع : من . (١٥) د : فتلك . (١٦) في ق تصحيف وعلى الحاشية : لعلَّه الخجل .

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يهون عليه جميع ذلك ، فقد فرق الشرع بينهما بعد ذلك ٠ وليس في التوراة غير هذا ٠

ففرع فقهاءهم على ذلك ما فيه خزيتهم (١) وفضيحتهم ٠ وذلك انه (٢) اذا زهدت المرأة في نكاح اخي زوجها المتوفّى اكرهوه على النزول عنها ، ثم الزموها الحضور عند الحاكم بمحضر من مشيختهم الخاخاميم (٣)، ولقنوها ان تقول

מאן יבמי להקים לאחיו שם בישראל לא אבה יבמי

تفسيره ابى ابن حمي ان يقيم لاخيه اسما في (٤) اسرائيل لم يُرد نكاحي

فيلزمونها بالكذب عليه لانّه اراد فمنعته ، فكان (٥) الامتناع منها والارادة منه٠ واذا لقنوها تلك الالفاظ فهُم يامرونها بالكذب ، ويحضرونه ويامرونه بان يقوم (٦) ويقول (٧)

לא חפצתי לקחתה

تفسيره ما اردت نكاحها

ولعلّ ذلك(٨) سُؤلهُ ومناه، فيامرونه بأن (٩)يكذب٠واما

18a

(١) ب ، د ، ع ، ك : خزيتهم ٠ (٢) ب : انهم ٠ (٣) ب ، د ، ع : س ٠ (٤) : ب : ز : بني ٠ (٥) ع : وكان ٠ (٦) ع : س ٠ (٧) ع : يقول (٨) ع : ز : خلاف ٠ (٩) ع : ان ٠ (١٠) في ع (خلع

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(١٠) اخراقها به ، وبصقها في وجهه ، فغاية التعدي ، لانّه ما كفاهم ان يكذبوا (١١) عليه وألزموه بان يكذب حتّى الزموه عقابا على ذنب لم يجنه ، فصاروا كما قال الشاعر

وجرمٍ جرّه سفهاء قومٍ فحلّ بغير جارمه(١٢) العذاب(١٣)

ذكر السبب في تشديدهم الاصر (١٤) على انفسهم

تشديدهم الا صر على انفسهم له سببان • احدهما من

18b

جانب فقهائهم ، وهم الذين يُدعون الحاخاميم ، وتفسير (١أ) هذه اللفظة الحكماء •

وكانت اليهود في قديم الزمان تسمّي فقهاءهم (١) بالحكماء• وكانت لهم (٢) في الشأم والمدائن مدارس وكان لهم الوف من الفقهاء ، وذلك في زمان دولة النبط البابليين،

نعله) بدلا مما يتلو • (١١) ب ، ع كذبوا • (١٢) ب ، د ، س ، ع ، ك : جانيه • (١٣) ب ، ر ، ع ، ك : العقاب • (١٤) في ع دائما (الاحد) •

18b

(١ أ)د ، ر ، ع: وتفسيره • ثم اسقاط كلمتين • (١) د ، ع : الفقهاء • ب ، ر : فقهاءها • (٢) في ك التنقيح لابن كمونة اقتباس من الافحام :وكان

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والفرس ، ودولة (٣) اليونان (٣)، ودولة الروم، حتّى اجتمع (٤) الكتابان اللذان اجتمع (٥) فقهاؤهم على تأليفهما وهما المشنا والتلموذ ٠

فاما المشنا فهو الكتاب الاصغر (٦) وحجمه نحو (٣) ثمانمائة ورقة ، واما التلموذ فهو الكتاب الاكبر ومبلغه نحو نصف حمل بغل لكثرته ٠ ولم يكن الفقهاء الذين الّفوه في عصر واحد وانما الّفوه في جيل بعد جيل٠ فلما نظر المتأخرون منهم الى هذا التأليف ، وانّه كلّما مرّ عليه جيل زادوا فيه ، وان في (٣) هذه الزيادات المتأخرة ما (٣) يناقض اوائل هذا التأليف ،علموا انهم ، إن لم يقطعوا ذلك ويمنعوا من الزيادة فيه ، ادّى الى الخلل الظاهر والتناقض الفاحش٠ فقطعوا الزيادة فيه ، ومنعوا من ذلك ، وحظروا على الفقهاء الزيادة فيه (٧) واضافة شيء آخر اليه ، وحرموا من يضيف اليه شيئا آخر ٠ فوقف على ذلك المقدار ٠

وكان (٨) ائمتهم قد حرموا عليهم في هذين الكتابين مؤاكلة الاجانب ، اعني من كان على (٩) غير ملّتهم ،

لهؤلاء الحكماء من المدارس في بابل وسورا والمدائن والشام ما لم يكن لاحد من الامم مثله ٠٠ الى هاهنا حكاية كلامه ٠٠٠ (٣) د ، ع : س ٠ (٤) ب ، د ، ع : ز : لهم ٠ (٥) ع : اجتمعت ٠ (٦) ب ، د ، ع : تابع : فبلغ حجمه ٠ (٧) د ، ع : قفزة الى : وحرموا ٠ (٨) ع : وكانت ٠ (٩) د ، ع : من ٠

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وحظروا عليهم اكل اللحمان من ذبيحة (١٠) من لم يدن على دينهم ،لانّهم ، اعني علماءهم وائمّتهم، علموا انّ دينهم لا يبقى عليهم في هذه الجالوت (١١) ، مع كونهم تحت الذلّ والعبودية ، الاّ ان (١٢) صدّوهم (١٣) عن مخالطة من كان على غير ملّتهم • وحرّموا عليهم مناكحتهم والاكل من ذبائحهم • ولم يمكنهم المبالغة في ذلك الا بحجّة يبتدعونها من انفسهم ويكذبون بها على الله • لأن

19a

التوراة انّما حرّمت عليهم مناكحة غيرهم من الامم لئلاّ يوافقوا ازواجهم في عبادة الاصنام والكفر بالله تعالى • وحُرم عليهم في التوراة اكل ذبائح الامم الذين يذبحونها قربانا (١) للاصنام لانّها (٢) قد سمّي عليها غير اسم الله • فاما الذبائح التي لم تذبح قربانا فلم تنطق التوراة بتحريمها ، وانما نطقت التوراة باباحتهم (٣) تناول المآكل من يدي غيرهم من الامم في قول الله تعالى لموسى حين اجتازوا على ارض بني العيص •

(١٠) ب : ذبائحهم • ر ، ق ، ك : ذباحة • (١١)ب ، ر ، ق ،ك : الجلوة • ع : الحالة • (١٢) ع : بان • (١٣) ع : يصدوهم •

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(١) ق : ز : الى •(٢) ب ، د ، ر ،ع ، ك : لانه • (٣) ع : باباحة •

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לא תתגרו בם כי לא אתן לך מארצם עד מדרך כף רגל

تفسيره (٤) لا تتحرشوا بهم فانّي لا اعطيك من ارضهم ولا مسلك قدم ٠

אכל תשברו מאתם בכסף ואכלתם וגם מים תכרו מאתם בכסף ושתיתם.

تفسيره مأكولا تمتاروا (٥) منهم بفضّة وتأكلوه وايضا ماء تشتروه منهم بفضّة وتشربوه ٠

فقد تبيّن من نصّ التوراة (٦) أن المأكول مباح لليهود تناوُله من يد (٧) غيرهم من الأمم وأكله ٠ وهم يعلمون ان بني العيص كانوا (٨) عابدي (٩) الاصنام واصحاب كفر ٠ فلا يكون المسلمون ، على كل حال ، بدون (١٠) هذه المنزلة ، اعني ان يساوى بينهم وبين بني العيص ٠ فينبغي لهم ان يأكلوا من مأكولات المسلمين وان يجعلوا للمسلمين تفضيلا بتوحيدهم وايمانهم وكونهم لا يعبدون الاصنام ٠ فموسى عَم انّما نهاهم عن مناكحة عبّاد الاصنام (١١) واكل ما يذبحونه باسمائها٠ ولسنا نعرف احدا من المسلمين يذبح ذبيحة (١٢) باسم صنم ولا وثن ٠ فما بال هؤلاء لا يأكلون من

(٤) د ، ع : قفزة الى : فاني ٠ (٥) هكذا في ب ، ق ، في ق الفعل مرفوع في هذه الجملة ٠ ع : اعتاضوا ٠ (٦) د ، ع : الكتاب ٠ (٧) د ، ع : س ٠ (٨) ب ، د ، ر ، ق ، ك : س ٠ (٩) ب ، ر ، ق : عابدوا ٠ ك : عابدون ٠ (١٠) ع : دون ٠ (١١) ق ، ك : تابع : وعدم اكل ٠ (١٢) ع : ذبيحته ٠

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19b

ذبائح المسلمين بل ما (أ) بال (أ) من سكن بالشام وبلد العجم منهم ، لا يأكلون من ايدي المسلمين اللبن والجبن والحلوى (ب) والخبز وغير ذلك من المأكولات (ج) ؟ فان قالوا «لأن التوراة حرّمت علينا اكل الطريفا» ، قلنا لهم (١): ان الطريفا هي الفريسة التي يفترسها الأسد او (٢) الذئب او غيره من السباع • ودليل ذلك قول (٣) التوراة

ובשר בשדה טרפה לא תאכלו לכלב תשליכו אתו

تفسيره ولحما في الصحراء فريسة لا تأكلوا للكلب ألقوه •

فلمّا نظر ائمّتهم الى ان التوراة غير ناطقة بتحريم مآكل الامم عليهم (٤) الا عبّاد الاصنام ، وان التوراة قد صرحت بان تحريم مواكلتهم ومخالطتهم خوفَ (٥) استدراجهم بالمخالطة الى مناكحتهم (٦) ، وان مناكحتهم انما تكره خوفَ استتباعها الانتقال الى اديانهم وعبادة اوثانهم • ووجدوا جميع هذا واضحا في التوراة ، اختلقوا كتابا سمّوه

19b

(أ) د ، ع : س • (ب) ر ، ك : والحلوا • تابع ق : او الخبز • (ج) ب: ز: قال • (١) ب ، د ، ر ، ع ، ك : س • (٢) د ، ع : و ••• (٣) د ، ع : قوله في (٤) ب ما اكل • ر ، ق : عليه • (٥) ع : خيف • (٦) تابع ع : انما يكون لخوف اتباعهم و••• (٧) راجع ١٠ في ص ١٨ ب •

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הלכת שחיטה

«هلكث شحيطا» ومعناه «علم الذباحة» ، (٧) ووضعوا في هذا الكتاب من تشديد الإصر (٨) عليهم ما شغلوهم به عمّا هم فيه من الذلّ والمشقّة . وذلك انّهم امروهم بان ينفخوا الرئة حتى تمتلئ هواء ويتأملوها ، هل يخرج الهواء من ثقب (٩) منها ام لا . فان خرج منها الهواء حرّموه . وان كانت (١٠) بعض اطراف الرئة لاصقة (١٠) ببعض لم يأكلوه (١١). وايضا فانّهم امروا الذي يفتقد (١٢) الذبيحة ان يُدخل يده في بطن الذبيحة ويتأمل باصبعه (١٣) ، فان وجد القلب ملتصقا الى الظهر او احد الجانبين ، ولو كان الالتصاق بعرق دقيق كالشعرة، حرّموه ولم يأكلوه وسمّوه «طريفا» ويعنون (١٤) بذلك انّه نجس (١٥) .

وهذه التسمية هي اوّل التعدّي منهم لانه ليس موضوعها

20a

في اللغة الا المفترس الذي يفترسه بعض الوحوش . ودليل ذلك قول يعقوب لمّا جاؤوه (١) بقميص يوسف ملوثا بالدم

(٨) راجع ١٤ في ص ١٨ أ . (٩) د ، ع ثقب ، (١٠) ع : كان ... لاصقا . (١١) ق، ك، : يأكلوها . (١٢) ابن قيّم : يتفقد . (١٣) ب ، د ، ع : باصابعه . (١٤) ع : يعنون . (١٥) ع : تنجس . تابع : فحرم أكله ، ب ، د ، ر، ك : ز : اكله .

20a

(١) د ، ع : جاءوا . (٢) د : عادي . ع : اذى . (٣) الجملة ناقصة

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ויכרה ויאמר כתנת בני חיה רעה אכלתהו, טרף טרף יוסף

تفسيره : فتأملها وقال دراعة ابني وحش رديء (٢) اكله افتراسا افترس يوسف (٣) ٠

فقد تبيَّن ان تفسير «طروف طوراف يوسف» افتراسا افترس يوسف ٠ فالطريفا هي الفريسة ٠

ودليل آخر (٤) انه قال :

«ولحما في الصحراء فريسة لا تأكلوا» ، والفريسة ابدا انما توجد (٥) في الصحراء ٠ وليس ينبغي ان يعجب من ذلك ٠ فانّ هذا النهي عن اكل الفريسة انما نزل على قوم ذوي اخبية يسكنون البر٠ وذلك انَّهم مكثوا يترددون في التيه والبراري تمام اربعين (٦) سنة٠ وكانوا اكثر هذه المدة لا يجدون طعاما الا المنّ ٠

فلمَّا اشتدّ قرَمهم الى اللحم ، جاءهم موسى بالسلوى وهو طائر صغير يشبه السُّمَانى٠ وخاصيته ان اكل لحمه يلين القلوب القاسية ويذهب بالخنزوانة والقساوة ٠ وذلك ان هذا الطائر يموت اذا سمع صوت الرعد كما ان الخطاف يقتله البرد ٠ فيلهمه الله ، عز وجل ، ان يسكن جزائر البحر التي لا يكون بها مطر ولا رعد الى انقضاء (٧) اوان المطر والرعد،

في ق ٠ (٤) د ، ع : ز : وهو ٠ (٥) ع : تكون ٠ (٦) د : الاربعين ٠ (٧) ر ، ك : انفصال ٠

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فيخرج من الجزائر وينتشر في الارض · فجلب الله اليهم هذا الطائر لينتفعوا بما في اكل لحمه من الخاصية ، وهي تليين القلوب القاسية · وكان قد اشتدَّ قرمهم الى اللحم قبل (٨) ذلك (٨) بحيث لم يمنعهم من اكل الفريسة والميتة الاّ نزول تحريمها في التوراة · فقد تبيَّن التعدّي من مشائخهم في

20b

טרפה

تفسير الطريفا· فانه (١) الفريسة· فامَّا (٢) فقهاؤهم فانَّهم اختلقوا من انفسهم هذيانات وخرافات تتعلق بالرئةوالقلب·

דכיא

وقالوا ما كان من الذبائح سليما من هذه الشروط فهو دخيا ، وتفسير هذه الكلمة طاهر; وما كان خارجا عن هذه الشروط فهو طريفا ، وتفسير (٣) هذه الكلمة حرام · وقالوا معنى قول التوراة

«ولحما فريسة في الصحراء لا تأكلوا للكلب القوه»

يعني اذا ذبحتم ذبيحتكم (٤) ولم توجد فيها هذه الشروط، فلا (٥) تأكلوها (٥) ، بل تبيعوها (٦) على من ليس من

(٨) د ، ع : س ·

20b

(١) ب ، د : وانه · ع : فانها · (٢) ب : واما · (٣) ب ، د ، د ، ع ، ك : وفسروا · ابن قيّم (اغاثه ٢ ، ص ٧٠) : وتفسيره نجس حرام· (٤) ب ، د ، د ، س ، ع ، ك : ذبيحة · في ق سقطت الكلمة التالية · (٥) د ، ع : س · (٦) ب : تبيعونها ·

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اهل ملّتكم • وذلك انهم فسّروا قوله «للكلب ألقوه» اي لمن ليس على ملتكم ، اطعموه وبيعوه ; الاّ انّهم على الحقيقة اشبه بالكلاب واحقّ بهذا اللقب والتشبيه لقبح عقولهم وسوء ظنونهم واعتقادهم في (٧) سواهم من الامم•

ثم(٥) إن اليهود فرقتان• احداهما عرفت ان اولئك السلف الذين ألّفوا المشنا والتلموذ وهم (٨) فقهاء اليهود (٩) قوم كذّابون على الله وعلى موسى النبي ، اصحاب حماقات ورقاعات هائلة • من ذلك ان اكثر مسائل فقههم ومذهبهم (١٠) يختلفون (١١) فيها • ويزعمون ان الفقهاء كانوا ، اذا اختلفوا في كل واحدة من هذه المسائل ، يوحي الله اليهم (١٢) ، يسمعه جمهورهم يقول «الحق في هذه المسئلة مع الفقيه فلان» • وهم يسمّون هذا (١٣) الصوت «بث قول» •

فلما نظر اليهود القرائيون ، وهم اصحاب عانان وبنيامين ، الى هذه المحالات الشنيعة والى هذا الافتراء الفاحش والكذب البارد ، انفصلوا بأنفسهم عن الفقهاء وعن كل من يقول بمقالتهم، وكذّبوهم في كل ما افتروا به على الله•وقالوا بعد

(٧) ق ، ك : فيما • (٨) ع : هم • (٩) ع : ز : وهم • (١٠) ع : ومذاهبهم • (١١) د ، ع : مختلفون • (١٢) د ، ر ، ع ، ك : بصوت • (١٣) ب ، د ، ع : س •

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21a

ان ثبت كذبهم على الله وانهم قد ادّعوا النبوة وزعموا ان الله كان يوحي الى (١) جميعهم في كلّ يوم مرّات ، فقد فسقوا ولا يجوز قبول شيء منهم • فخالفوهم في سائر ما اضلّوه (٢) من الامور التي لم ينطق بها نص التوراة ، واكلوا اللحم باللبن، ولم يحرّموا سوى لحم ابن (٣) الجدي الجدي بلبن امه » • واما التُّرهات التي ألّفها الحخاميم (٥) الجدي بلبن امّه: وامّا التُّرّهات(٤)التي الّفها الحخاميم(٥) الفقهاء وسموها «هلكث شحيطا» اعني «علم الذباحة» وهي المسائل الفقهية التي رتّبها الفقهاء (٦) ، فان القرائيين اطرحوها مع غيرها والغوها ، وصاروا لا يحرمون شيئا من الذبائح التي (٧) يتولّون ذباحتها البتة• فهذا حال هذه الطائفة من اليهود ، اعني القرائيين • ولهم ايضا فقهاء اصحاب تصانيف ، الا انّهم لم يبالغوا في الكذب على الله الى حدّ ان يدّعوا النبوة، ولا نسبوا شيئا (٨) من تفاسيرهم الى النبيّ (٩) ولا الى الله ، بل الى اجتهادهم (١٠)•

21a

(١) د ، ع : اليهم • (٢) د ، ع : الغوه • (٣) ب ، د ، ر ، ع : س • (٤) ع : الترجمات • (٥) ب ، د ، ع : ز : اعني • (٦) ب ، د ، ع ، ك : ز : ونسبوا (ب ، ر ، ك ونسبوها) الى الله عن موسى • (٧) ب : ولا • (٨) ع : اشياء • (٩) ع : النبوة • (١٠) ع : احبارهم •

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والفرقة الثانية يقال لهم الربانيون • وهم اكثر عددا • وهم شيعة(١١) الحخاميم الفقهاء المفترين على اللـه الذين يزعمون (١٢) ان الله كان يخاطبهم في كل مسئلة بالصوت الذي سموه «بث قول» • وهذه الطائفة اشد عداوة لغيرهم من الامم (١٣) لأنّ اولائك الفقهـاء المفترين على الله قـد اوهموهم ان المأكولات والمشروبـات انما تحـلّ (١٤) للنـاس بان يستعملوا فيها (١٥) هذا العلمَ الذي نسبوه الى موسى والى الله وان سائر الامم لا يعرفون هذا وانهم انما شرفهم الله بهذا ، وامثاله من التُّرهات التي افسدوا بها عقولهم • فصار

21b

احدهم ينظر الى من ليس على ملَّته كما ينظر الى بعض (١) الحيوانات التي لا عقل لها ، وينظر الى المآكل التي تأكلها الامم كما ينظر الرجل العاقل (٢) الى العذرة والى (٣) صديد الموتى وغير ذلك من الاشياء القذرة التي لا ينساغ (٤) لأحد اكلها •

فهذا هو الاصل في بقاء هذه (٥) الطائفة على اديانها ،

(١١) ق ، ك : ز : من • (١٢) ب : زعموا • (١٣) د ، ع : ز : من سائر اليهود (١٤) ب : تحمل • (١٥) ق : يستعملونها •

21b

(١) د ، ع سائر • (٢) د ، ع : س • (٣) د ، ع : او الى • (٤) د ، ع : يسوغ • (٥) ق : س•

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لشدّة مباينتها لغيرها من الامم ، ولانّهم ينظرون الى الناس بعين النقص والازراء (٥أ) الى ابعد غاية ٠

وامّا الطائفة الاولى، وهم القرائيون، فاكثرهم خرج الى دين الاسلام اولا فأولا الى ان لم يبق (٦) منهم الا نفر يسير، لانهم اقرب الى الاستعداد لقبول الاسلام، لسلامتهم من محالات فقهاء الربانيين، اصحاب الافتراء الزائد الذين شدّدوا على جماعتهم الاِصر٠

فقد تبيّن ممّا ذكرناهُ ان الحخاميم هم الذين شدُّوا على هـــذه الطائفة دينهم وضيّقوا عليهـم المعيشـة والاِصر ٠ قصدوا (٧) بذلك مبالغتهم في مضادة مذاهب الامم حتّى لا يختلطوا بهم فيؤدي اختلاطهم بهم الى خروجهم من دينهم٠

والسبب الثاني في تضييق الاِصر عليهم ان اليهود مبدّدون في شرق البلاد وغربها ٠ فما من جماعة منهم (٨) في بلدة الا واذا قدم عليهم رجل من اهل دينهم من بلاد بعيدة يظهر لهم الخشونة في دينه والمبالغة في التورع والاحتياط، فان كان من المتفقهة (٩) فهـو يشرع في انكار اشيـاء عليهم ويوهمهم التنزُّه عما هم فيه وينسبهم الى قلّة الدين ٠ وينسب ما ينكره

(٥أ) ر : والازدراء ٠ (٦) ق : لايبقى ٠ (٧) ب : فقصدوا٠
(٨) ر ، ك : س ٠ (٩) د ، ع : المتفقهين ٠ (١٠) د ، ع : مشائخهم ٠

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عليهم الى مشائخه (١٠) واهل بلده (١٠) ، ويكون في اكثر ذلك الاسناد كاذبا • ويكون قصده بذلك إما الرئاسة عليهم وإما تحصيل غرض منهم، ولا سيما إن اراد المقام عندهم (١١) او التدبير بينهم (١٢) ، فتراه اول ما ينزل بهم (١٣) لا يأكل 22a

من أطعمتهم ولا من ذبائحهم ، ويتأمل سكّين ذبّاحهم وينكر عليه (١) بعض امره ويقول «انا لا آكل الا من ذباحة يديّ» • فتراهم معه في عذاب ، لايزال ينكر عليهم الحلال والمباح ويوهمهم تحريمه باسنادات يخترعها حتى لا يشكّوا في ذلك •

فان وصل بعد مدة طويلة من اهل بلده من يعرف انّه كاذب في تلك الاسنادات فلا يخلو امره من ان يوافقه او يخالفه • فان وافقه فانما يوافقه ليشاركه في الرئاسة الناموسية التي حصلت له وخوفا من ان يكذب ، إن خالفه ، وينسب الى قلّة الدين • وايضا فان القادم الثاني في اكثر الامر يستحسن ما اعتمده القادم الاول من تحريم المباحات

(١١) ب ، د ، ع : بينهم • (١٢) ب ، د ، ع : عندهم • (١٣) د ، ع : عندهم •

22a

(١) د ، ع : عليهم •

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وانكار المحلَّلات ويقول «لقد عظم الله ثواب فلان اذ قوى ناموس الدين (٢) في قلوب هذه (٣) الجماعة وشيَّد سياج(٤) الشرع عندهم» • واذا لقيه على الانفراد يشكره ويجزيه خيرا او (٥) يقول له «لقد زيَّن الله بك اهل بلدنا» • وان كان القادم الثاني ينكر ما اتى به القادم الاول من الانكار عليهم والتضييق ، لم يبق من الجماعة واحد يستصحبه (٦) ، ولا يصدقه، بل جميعهم ينسبونه الى قلة الدين لان هؤلاء القوم يعتقدون ان تضييق المعيشة وتحريم المحلَّلات هو المبالغة في الدين والزهد ، وهم ابدا يعتقدون الدين والحق مع مَن يضيّق عليهم ، ولا ينظرون هل يأتي بدليل ام لا ، ولا يبحثون عن كونه محقًا او مبطلا • هذا حال القادم الى بلد من المتفقهة (٧) •

فاما إن كان القادم احد احبار اليهود وعلمائهم فهنالك ترى العجب من الناموس الذي يعتمده والسنن التي يحدثها ويلحقها بالفرائض • ولا يقدر احدهم على الاعتراض عليه ، فتراهم مستسلمين اليه وهو يحتلب

(٢) د ، ع : الشرع • (٣) ع : هؤلاء • (٤) ع : سياجه • ثم اسقاط كلمتين • ابن قيم (هداية ٢ ص ٧٢) يسرد : وشيد اساسه (الدين) واحكم سياج الشرع • (٥) د ، ع : ويقول • (٦) ب ، ع : يستنصحه • (٧) ب ، د ع : متفقهة اليهود • ر : متفقهتهم • (٨) ق :

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دُرَهم (٨) ويجتلب بحيلة درهمهم ، حتى لو بلغه انّ بعض
22b

احداث اليهود قد جلس على قارعة الطريق في يوم السبت او (أ) اشترى لبنا من بعض المسلمين او خمرا ، ثلبه (ب) وسبَّه في مجمع من يهود المدينة واباحهم عِرضه ونسبه الى قلّة الدين ٠

فهذا السبب والسبب الذي ذكرناه قبله هما (ج) العلّة في تشديد الإِصر الذي جعلته اليهود على انفسها ، وتضييق المعيشة عليها ، وتجنُّبهم مأكل غيرهم ومخالطة من كان على غير ملّتهم ٠ وقد اوضحناهما (١) للمتأمل (٢)٠

س ، والتالية ايضا . ع : يجتلب ويجلب بحيلة وراء دراهمهم ٠
22b

(أ) ع : واشترى ٠ (ب) د : نكبه ٠(ج) د ، ك : س ٠ (١) ع : اوضحناها ٠ (٢) د ، ع : س ٠ (٣) ب : يرسم ٠ (٤) د ، ع :

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خاتمة الكتاب

احقّ الناس بان يوسم (٣) بالجهالة وينبز (٤) بالضلالة مَن كان طبعُهُ ابيًّا عن الانقياد للحقائق (٥) ، وعقله بعيدا عن فهم اليقين • فاما من (٦) شقت (٧) درجته(٦)عن ذلك وكان، مع امتناعه (٨) عن (٢) تسليم (٩) الحقائق ، مسرعا (١٠) الى قبول الباطل وتصديق(١١)المستحيل، فهو حقيق بالنسبة الى الجنون والسقوط •

وهذه الطائفة احقّ الناس بذلك لأن آباءهم كانوا يشاهدون في كلّ يوم من الآيات الحسيّة والنار (١٢) السمائية ما لم يره غيرهم من الامم ، وهم مع ذلك يهمّون(١٣)برجم موسى وهارون في كثير من الاوقات• وكفى باتّخاذهم العجل في ايّام موسى، وايثارهم العودة الى مصر ، والرجوع الى العبودية ليشبعوا من اكل اللحم والبصل والقثاء، ثمّ عبادتهم الاصنام بعد عصر يوشع بن نون ، ثمّ انضمامهم الى ابشالوم الولد العاق (١٤) ولد داود (١٥) من بنت

ويميّز •(٥) ط : الى الحقائق • (٦) ط : س : فاما • ثم : ومن • (٧) ع : سفل • (٨) د ، ع : الامتناع • (٩) ط : تسليمه للحقائق • (١٠) د ، ط ، ك : متسرعا • (١١) ط : وتحقيق • (١٢) ع : والمنارات • (١٣) ق : يهتمون • (١٤) ط : العاصي • (١٥) ط : ز: النبي عليه

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ملك الكشور (١٦)• فان سوادهم الاعظم انضمّ الى هذا الولد العاصي العاقّ ، وشدّوا معه على حرب (١٧) الملك الكبير (١٨) والنبي الكريم نبي الله داود عَم• ثم انهم ، لما عادوا الى طاعة داود ، جاءت وفودهم وعساكرهم متقاطرة اليه (١٩) ، مستغفرين ممّا ارتكبوه ، مستبشرين بسلامة

23a

الملك (١) داود ، بحيث اختصم الاسباط مع سبط يهودا (٢)، اذا عبروا بالملك الاردنّ قبل مجيء عساكر الاسباط ، غيرة منهم على السبق الى خدمة الملك • وتعاتبوا في ذلك عتابا دقيقاً (٣)• فقال سبط يهودا

نحن احقّ الناس بالسبق الى الملك والاختصاص بخدمته لانّه منّا فلا وجه لعتبكم علينا ، يا بني اسرائيل (٤) •

فنبغ فضولي يقال له شيبع بن بخري (٥) فنادى برفيع صوته لا نصيب لنا في داود ولا حظ في ابن يشاي ،ليمض كل

السلام • (١٦) الكرج • ط : ز : الذين هم الافخاز • (١٧) ط : س • (١٨) د ، ط ، ع : س ٤ كلمات تالية • (١٩) ط : الى خدمته • ع : الى داود •

23a

(١) ق : ز : النبي • (٢) تابع ط : اذا سبقوا الى الوفود على الملك وعبور الاردن غيرةً • (٣) ب ، ع : رفيقا • ر : دقيقا • (٤) ب ، د ، ر ، ع ، ك : ز : في ذلك • (٥) جميع النصوص : بخرى بن شيبع •

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منكم الى خبائه، يا اسرائيل (٦) • فما كان باسرع من انفضاض عسكر(٧) بني اسرائيل عن داود ، بسبب كلمة ذلك الفضولي • ولما توصّل الوزير يواب الى قتل ذلك المشغّب (٨) عادت العساكر جميعها (٩) الى طاعة داود• فما كان القوم الا مثل رَعاع همج العوام الذين تجمعهم دبدبة وتفرقهم صيحة (١٠) •

واما عبادتهم الكبشين(١١) وتركهم الحجّ الى القدس(١٢)، ثم اصرارهم على مخالفة (١٣) الانبياء الى انقضاء دولتهم(١٤)، فمما لا يصدر عن متمسك باهداب العقل • وسبيلهم ان لا يتطرقوا (إلاّ) الى معايب (١٥) احد من الامم اذا كانت هذه مخازيهم وفضائحهم•

فاما تسرعهم الى قبول الباطل والمستحيل فانّا نذكر منه طرفا ينبىء عن قلّة عقولهم ، وهو ما جرى في زماننا من أذكاهم واكيسهم (١٦) وامكرهم وهم يهود بغداد •

(٦) ب ، ر ، ط ، ع ، ك : اسرائيليين • (٧) ب ، ط : جميع عساكر• د ، ع : انفضاضهم اي جميع عساكر • (٨) د ، ع : الشعب • (٩) ب : كلها (١٠) ابن قيّم : يجمعها طبل ويفرقهم عصا • (١١) تابع ط : من الذهب اللذين عملهما يربعام في نابلس وتقلهم الحج الى الكبشين وتركهم الخ • (١٢) ط : بيت المقدس • (١٣) ط : مخالفتهم للانبياء • (١٤) ط : فهو على الحقيقة مما • ع : فما يصدر (١٥) ب : الى معايب • ط : الى ؟

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فانّ محتالاً من شبّان اليهود نشأ (١٧) بسواد الموصل ، يقال له مناحيم بن سليمان ، ويعرف بابن الروحي ، وكان ذا جمال في صورته وقد تفقه في دينهم بالاضافة الى انجمهور (١٨) من اليهود الساكنين بالناحية المعروفة بالعمادية من بلد الموصل وكان المتولّي لقلعة (١٩) هناك ذا ميل (٢٠) الى ذلك المحتال وحبّ له لحسن اعتقاده

23b

فيه ولما توهّم فيه من ديانة تظاهر (١) بها بحيث كان الوالي يسعى الى زيارته • فطمع ذلك المحتال في جانب الوالي واستضعف عقله • فتوهّم انّه يتمكن من الوثوب على القلعة واخذها وانها تضحى (٢) له معقلا حصينا • فكتب الى اليهود المستقرين (٣) بنواحي بلاد (٤) اذربيجان وما والاها ، لانه علم ان يهود (٥) الاعاجم اقوى جهالة من سائر اليهود • وذكر في كتبه انه قائم قد غار (٦) لليهود من يد المسلمين ،

ع : الى معاندة احد • (١٦) ط : تابع : واشدّهم عيثًا ومكرا وهم الخ • حاشية ق : واقعة حال مخازيهم • (١٧) ط : ز : منيعة ؟ ق : س • (١٨) ب ، ر ، ع : الحمر • (١٩) ر ، ق : س • في ط : ز : منيعة • (٢٠) د ، ع : زميل •

23b

(١) ط : تمسك ؟ (٢) د ، ع : تبقى • (٣) د ، ع : المتفرقين • في ع قبل هذه : القرائيين • (٤) د ، ع : س• (٤أ) في المخطوطات فمن بعض• (٥) في ب، ط ، ق دون تعريف• (٦) يتبع هذا الفعل عادة

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وخاطبهم بانواع من (٤) المكر والخديعة. فبعض (٤أ) فصول كتبه (٧) التي رأيتها يحوي (٨) ما هـذا معناه :

ولعلّكم تقولون هذا لأي شيء قد استنفرنا (٩) أ لحرب (١٠) ام لقتال ؟ لا، لسنا نريدكم لحرب، ولا لقتال ، بل لتكونوا واقفين بين يدي هذا القـائم ليراكم هنـاك من يغشاه من رسل الملوك الذين ببابه (١١).

وفي اواخر الكتب (١٢): ينبغي ان يكون مع كل واحد منكم سيف او غيره من آلات الحرب ويخفيه تحت اثوابه.

فاستجابت اليه يهود الاعاجم واهل نواحي العمادية وسواد الموصل . ونفروا اليه بالسلاح المستتر حتى صار عنده منهم جماعة كثيفة (١٣). وكان الوالي ، لحسن ظنّه به، يظنّ انّ اولائك القادمين انما جـاؤوا (١٤) لزيارة ذلـك الحبر الذي قد ظهر لهم بزعمه (١٥) في بلده ، الى ان انكشفت (١٦) له مطامعهم . وكان حليما عن سفك الدماء . فقتل صاحب الفتنة المحتال وحده. فاما الباقون فتهاجوا (١٧) مدبرين بعد ان ذاقوا (١) وبال المشقّة والخسارات والفقر .

حـرف على . (٧) تـابع ط : انـه قال ولعلّكم الخ . (٨) د : محويا . ثم س ٦ كلمات . ع : س . (٩) د ، ع : استفزّنا . (١٠) ع ، ك : لحرب . (١١) ق ، ك : س . د : ز ينتابونه . (١٢) د ، ع : الكتاب الكبد . (١٣) ك : كبيرة . ر :

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ولم تنكشف هذه القصّة لهم مع ظهورها لكل ذي عقل ، بل هم الى الآن يفضلونه على كثير من انبيائهم• اعني (١٥) يهود (١٥) العمادية (١٥) • ومنهم من يعتقده (١٨) المسيح المنتظر بعينه • ولقد رأيت جماعة من يهود الاعاجم بخوى وسلماس وتبريز ومراغه ، وقد جعلوا اسمه قسَمهم الاعظم•

24a

واما من بالعمادية من اليهود فصاروا اشدّ مباينة ومخالفة ، في جميع امورهم ، لليهود من النصارى • وفي تلك الولاية جماعة منهم على دين ينسبونه الى مناحيم المحتال المذكور(١)•

ولما وصل خبره (٢) الى بغداد اتّفق هناك شخصان من محتالي اليهود ودواهي مشيختهم فزوّرا (٣) على لسان مناحيم كتبا الى بغداد تبشّرهم بالفرج الذي كانوا قديما ينتظرونه، وانه يعيّن لهم ليلة يطيرون فيها اجمعين الى بيت المقدس• فانقاد اليهود البغداديون اليه (٤) ، مع ما يدّعونه من الذكاء ويفخرون به من الخب ، انقادوا باسرهم الى (٥) تصديق

كثيرة • (١٤) ب : ز: الى (زيارة) • (١٥) ط : س • (١٦) د ، ع : تكشف • د : ز : له مطلعهم • (١٧) د ، ع : فتناجوا • (١٨) د ، ع : يعتقد انه •

24a

(١) د : س • (٢) د ، ع : الخبر • (٣) جمع في النصوص • (٤) ط : س • ع : مثنى • (٥) ط : تابع : ما زور عليهم وذهبت الى •(٦) د ،

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ذلك • وذهبت (٦) نسوانهم باموالهنّ وحليهن الى ذينك الشيخين (٧) ليتصدقا به عنهن (٨) على من يستحقّه بزعمهما (٩) • وصرف اليهود جل اموالهم في هذا الوجه • واكتسوا (١٠) ثيابا خضراء واجتمعوا في تلك الليلة على السطوح ينتظرون الطيران بزعمهم على اجنحة الملائكة الى بيت المقدس •

وارتفع للنسوان (١١) منهم بكاء على اطفالهن المرتضعين خوفا (١٢) ان يطرن قبل طيران اولادهن او (١٣) يطير اطفالهن (١٤) قبلهن فتجوع الاطفال بتأخّر الرضاع عنهم • وتعجّب المسلمون هناك (١٤) مما اعترى (١٥) اليهود حينئذ بحيث احجموا عن معارضتهم حتى (١٦) تنكشف آثار مواعيدهم العرقوبية • فما زالوا متهافتين الى الطيران الى ان اسفر (١٧) الصباح عن خذلانهم وامتهانهم (١٨) •

ونجا (١٩) ذانك المحتالان بما وصل اليهما من اموال اليهود • وانكشف لهم بعد ذلك وجه الحيلة وما تظاهروا به

ع : وذهبوا بنسوانهم (د : وحليهم) واموالهم • (٧) ب : الشخصين • (٨) د ، ع : س • (٩) ط : بزعمهم • (١٠) ط : ولبسوا • (١١) ع : من النساء • (١٢) ط : وخوفا ان • (١٣) ر ، ق ، ك : اولادهنّ • (١٤) ط : س • (١٥) ط : يعتري • (١٦) ط : يكشف • (١٧) ر : اصبح •

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من جلباب الرذيلة• فسموا ذلك العام «عام الطيران» وصاروا يعتبرون به سني (٢٠) كهولهم والشبان • وهو تاريخ البغداديين من المتهودة في هذا الزمان • فكفاهم (٢١) هذا الامر عارا دائما وشنارا ملازما •

24b

وفيما قد اوردناه كفاية قاضية للوطر من افحامهم والجامهم بما هو عين ما عندهم• واعوذ بالله ممَّا يشركون واليه البراءة ممَّا يكفرون •

(١٨) ع : امتناعهم • (١٩) حاشية ق : وهربا • (٢٠) ب : كسني • ع : سنين • (٢١) ر : ز : في •

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إسلام السموءل بن يحيي المغربي(١)
واقتصاص رؤيته (٢) النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم في ليلة عرفة (٣) سنة ثمان وخمسين وخمسمائة (٤)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم(٥) ، لا اله الا الله ، عليه توكلت. قال السموءل :

بعد حمد الله والصلاة على نبيّه محمد المصطفى وعلى آله (٦) .

ان العناية الإلهية لتسوق من تسبق في علم الله (٧) هدايته حتى يوجد منه الاهتداء في الوقت الذي سبق في علم الله وجوده منه فيه. وانا اذكر (٨) ما وفّقني الله له من الهداية، وكيف انساقت بي الحال، منذ نشأت الى انتقالي عن مذهب اليهود ، ليكون عبرة وموعظة لمن يقع (٩) اليه

24b

(١) ع : اظهار اسلام المؤلف السموأل . (٢) ب : رؤياه . (٣) ب ، ع : ز : من . (٤) ع : ز : من الهجرة النبوية ، على صاحبها ازكى الصلاة والتوحيد . (٥) ب ، ع : اسقاط باقي السطر ر : رب يسّر وأعن يا الله . (٦) ع : ز : واصحابه . (٧) ع : قفزة الى تكرار الجملة . (٨) ب ، ع : ذاكر . ب : ز : سبب(ر : بسبب) . (٩) ب : وقع .

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(١٠) ، وليعلم متأمّله ان اللطف الالاهي اخفى من ان يحاط بكنهه (١١)• فان الله يخصُّ بفضله من يشاء ويؤتي الحكمة من يشاء ويهديه صراطا مستقيما •

25a

وذلك انّ ابي كان يقال له الراب يهودا بن ابون (١) من مدينة فاس التي باقصى المغرب ، والراب لقب وليس باسم ، وتفسيره الحبر • وكان اعلم اهل زمانه بعلوم التوراة ، واقدرهم على التوسع في الانشاء والإعجاز والإرتجال (٢) لمنظوم (٣) العبراني ومنثوره • وكان اسمه المدعوّ به بين اهل العربية ابا البقاء (٤) يحيى بن عباس المغربي • وذلك انّ اكثر (٥) متخصصيهم يكون له اسم عربي ، غير اسمه العبري، او(٦) مشتقّ (٧) منه، كما جعلت العرب الاسم غير الكنية •

وكان اتصاله بامّي ببغداد واصلها من البصرة وهي احدى الاخوات الثلاث المنجبات في علوم التوراة والكتابة بالقلم العبري وهنّ بنات اسحاق بن ابراهيم البصري الليوي ، اعني من (٦) سبط ليوى وهو سبط

(١٠) ع : له • (١١) ع : بعلمه •

25a

(١) ع : ايوب • (٢) ب ، ع : في الارتجال • (٣) ع : منظوم (٤) : ع : ز : بن • (٥) ع : كثيرا من • (٦) ع : س • (٧) ب ، د ، ق :

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(٦) مضبوط النسب لأن منه كان موسى عليه السلام • وكان هذا اسحاق ذا علوم يدرسها (٨) ببغداد • وكانت امهنّ نفيسة بنت ابي نصر الداودي (٩) من رؤسائهم المشاهير (١٠) وذريته الى الآن بمصر•

وكان اسم امّي باسم ام شموايل النبي عليه السلام • وكان هذا النبي قد (٣) وُلد بعد ان مكثت امه عاقرا ، لا ترزق ولدا ، ولا تحمل ، عدة (١١) سنين حتى دعت ربَّها في طلب ولد يكون ناسكا لله ، ودعا لها رجل صالح من الائمة ، يقال له عيلى ، فرزقت (١٢) شموايل النبي• وذلك (١٣) كله مشروح في اوائل سفر نبوة شموايل النبي • فمكثت امّي (١٤) عند ابي مدّة لا ترزق (١٥) ، حتى استشعرت العقم فرأت في منامها انها تتلو مناجاة (١٦) حنَّة ام شموايل لربّها• فنذرت (١٧) انها ، ان رزقت ولدا ذكرا ، تسميه شموايل لانّ اسمها كان باسم ام شموايل • فاتَّفق انها بعد ذلك اشتملت (١٨) علي • وحين رزقتني

منصوب • (٨) ب : يدرسهن • (٩) ب ، ع : ز : المصري وهذا الداودي• (١٠) ع : المشهورين • (١١) ع : تحبل مدة • (١٢) ع : فولدت • (١٣) ع : اسقاط الجملة • (١٤) ع : ز : كذلك • (١٥) ر ، ع : ز : ولدا •(١٦) ر ، ع : مناجات • (١٧) كذا ر ، ع : نصوص اخرى : فانذرت • (١٨) ق : حملت •

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دعتني شموايل ، وهو اذا عرّب السموءل. وكنّاني ابي ابا نصر وهي كنية جدّي.

25b

وشغلني ابي بالكتابة بالقلم العبري ثم بعلوم (١) التوراة وتفاسيرها حتى احكمت علم ذلك عند كمال السنة الثالثة عشرة من مولدي .

فشغلني حينئذ بتعليم (١أ) الحساب الهندي وحل الزيجات عند الشيخ الاستاذ (٢) ابي الحسن بن (٣) الدسكري ، وقراءة علم الطب على الفيلسوف ابي البركات هبة الله بن علي ، والتأمل في علاج (٤) الامراض، ومشاهدة ما يتّفق من الاعمال الصناعية في الطب ، ولمعالجات (٥) التي يعالجها خالي ابو الفتح (٦) بن البصري . فاما الحساب الهندي والزيج فانّي احكمت (٧) علمهما في اقلّ من سنة ، وذلك حين كمل لي اربع عشرة سنة ، وانا في خلال ذلك لا اقطع القراءة في الطبّ ، ومشاهدة علاج الامراض . ثم قرأت الحساب الديواني وعلم المساحة على الشيخ (٨) ابي المظفر الشهرزوري (٩) وقرأت الجبر والمقابلة

25b

(١) ر : بقلم . ق : بعلم . (١ أ) ر : بتعلّم . (٢) ب ، ع : ز العالم . (٣) ع : س . (٤) ر : بعلاج . (٥) ع : والعلاجات . (٦) ب ، ع : ز : الطبيب ابن . (٧) ع : حملت . (٨) ب ، ع : ز : الامام العالم . (٩)

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ايضا عليه (١٠) وعلى الكاتب ابن ابي تراب. وتردّدت الى الاستاذ ابي الحسن بن الدسكري وابي الحسن بن النقاش لقراءة الهندسة حتى حلّلت المقالات التي كانا يحلاّنها من (١١) اقليدس . وانا في خلال ذلك متشاغل بالطبّ حتى استوعبت ما عند من ذكرته من الاستاذين (١٢) من هذه العلوم . وبقي بعض كتاب اقليدس (١٣) وكتاب (٣) الواسطي في الحساب وكتاب (١٤) البديع فى (١٥) الجبر والمقابلة للكرخي لا اجد من يعرف منه شيئا ، وغير ذلك من العلوم الرياضية ، مثل كتاب شجاع بن اسلم في الجبر والمقابلة وغيره .

وكان بي (١٦) من الشغف بهذه العلوم والعشق لها ما يلهيني عن المطعم والمشرب اذا فكرت في بعضها. فخلوت بنفسي في بيت مدّة(٣) وحللتُ جميع تلك الكتب وشرحتها،

26a

ورددتُ على من اخطأ (١) من واضعيها ، واظهرتُ اغلاط مصنّفيها ، وعزمت (٢) على (٣) ما عجزوا عن

ع : السهروردي . ب ، ع : ز : رحمه الله (ع : ز : تعالى) . (١٠) الاسم التالي في ب ، ع فقط . (١١) ب : ز : كتاب . ع : ز : كتب . (١٢) ع : حتى استوعبت ما ذكرته من الاستاذ ابن الدسكري الخ. (١٣) ع : المجسطي في الحساب والكتاب السابع في الجبر الخ. (١٤) ب : والكتاب . (١٥) ق : س . والجبر . (١٦) ع : لي .

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تصحيحه وتحقيقه • وازريت (٤) على اقليدس في ترتيب اشكال كتابه بحيث امكنني ، اذا غيرت نظام اشكاله ، ان استغني عن عدّة منها لا يبقى اليها حاجة بعد (٥) ان كان كتاب اقليدس معجزا لسائر المهندسين ، اذ لم يحدثوا انفسهم بتغيير نظام اشكاله ولا بالاستغناء عن بعضها • كل ذلك في هذه السنة ، اعني الثامنة عشرة من مولدي •

واتصلت تصانيفي في هذه العلوم منذ تلك السنة والى الآن وفتح الله عليّ كثيرا ممّا ارتج على من سبقني من الحكماء المبرّزين (٦) فدوّنت ذلك لينتفع به من يقع (٧) اليه •

وفي خلال ذلك ليس لي مكسب الا بصناعة الطبّ • وكان لي منها اوفر حظ ، اذ اعطاني الله من التأييد فيها ما عرفت به كل مرض يقبل العلاج من الامراض التي لا علاج لها • فما عالجتُ مريضا الا وعوفي (٨) وما كرهت علاج مريض الا وعجز عن علاجه سائر الاطبّاء وكاعوا عن تدبيره •

26a

(١) ع : ز فيها • س كلمتين • (٢) ب، ع، ك : وعربت ما• (٣) ب، ع: س • (٤) ع : وادربت • (٥) ع : اسقاط كلمتين • ثم : وكتاب الغ••• معجز • (٦) ع : المتدربين • (٧) ع : فتح عليه •(٨) ع : عجز •

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فالحمد لله على جزيل نعمته (٩) وعظيم فضله (١٠) ٠

واتضح لي بعد مطالعة ما طالعتهُ من الكتب التي بانعراق والشام واذربيجان وكوهستان ـ الطريق الى استخراج علوم كثيرة واختراع ادوية لم اعرف اني سُبقت اليها ، مثل الدرياق الذي وسمته بالمخلص ذي اقوة النافذة ، وهو يبرئ من عدة (١١) امراض عسيرة (١٢) في بعض يوم، وغيره من الادوية التي ركّبتها ممّا فيه منافع وشفاء للناس ، باذن الله تعالى ٠

وقد كنتُ قبل اشتغالي بهذه العلوم ، وذلك في السنة

26b

الثانية عشرة والثالثة عشرة مشغوفا (أ) بالاخبار والحكايات، شديد الحرص على الاطّلاع على ما كان في الزمان القديم والمعرفة بما جرى في القرون الخالية ٠ فاطّلعت على التصانيف المؤلّفة في الحكايات والنوادر ، على اختلاف فنونها٠ ثم انتقلتُ من(١) ذلك الى محبّة الاسمار والخرافات الطوال، ثم الى الدواوين الكبار ، مثل ديوان اخبار عنتر، وديوان(٢) ذي الهمة(٣)، والبطال، واخبار الاسكندر ذي

(٩) ب ، د ، ع ، ك : منه ٠ (١٠) ع : ز : ونعمه ٠ (١١) ع : جملة ٠
(١٢) ب ، ع : عشرة ٠

26b

(أ) ع : معتنيا ٠ (١) ب ، ع ، ك : عن ٠ (٢) ع : س ٠ (٣) ب ، د ،

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القرنين ، واخبار العنقاء، واخبار الطرف (٤) بن لوذان ، وغير ذلك.

ثم اني لما طالعت ذلك اتَّضح لي ان اكثره من تأليفات المؤرخين(٥). فطلبتُ الاخبار الصحيحة فمالت همَّتي (٦) الى التواريخ. فقرأت كتاب ابي عليّ بن مسكويه الذي سمَّاه «تجارب الامم» ، وطالعت تاريخ الطبري ، وغيرهما من التواريخ.

فكانت تمرّ بي في هذه التواريخ اخبار النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم، وغزواته، وما اظهر الله له من المعجزات، وما (٢) خصَّه به من الكرامة (٧) وحباه به من النصر والتأييد في غزاة (٨) بدر ، وغزاة (٨) خيبر (٩) ، وغيرهما; وقصة منشئه في اليَتَم والضعف، ومعاداة اهله له ، فهو (١٠) فيما بين اعدائه يجاهرهم (١١) بانكار دينهم عليهم ، والدعوة الى دينه مدّة طويلة وسنين كثيرة ، الى ان اذن الله له في الهجرة الى دار غيرها ; وما جرى للأعداء الذين جاهدوه من النكبات ، ومصرعهم بين يديه بسيوف اوليائه ببدر وغيرها;

ع، ك: دلهمه. (٤) ب، ر، ع، ك:المطرف . (٥) ب ، ر ، ع ، ك : الوراقين . (٦) ع : نفسي . (٧)ع : الكرامات . (٨) ع :غزوة (٩) ر ، ك : خيابر . (١٠) ب ، ر ،ع : واقامته . (١١) ع : يجاهدهم .

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وظهور الآية العجيبة في هزيمة الفرس ، ورستم الجبار معهم ، في الوف كثيرة على (١٢) غاية من الحشد والقوة بين يدي اصحاب سعد بن ابي وقّاص ، وهم (١٣) في فئة يسيرة ، على حال من الضعف ; ومنام (١٤) كسرى انوشروان وانكسار الروم وهلاك عساكرهم على يدي ابي عبيدة (١٥) بن الجراح رحمة الله عليه (١٦); ثم سياسة ابي بكر (١٧) وعمر (١٨) رضي الله عنهما وعدلهما وزهدهما ٠

27a

ومع ذلك فانّي كنت ، لكثرة شغفي باخبار الوزراء والكتّاب، قد اكتسبت، بكثرة مطالعتي بحكاياتهم واخبارهم وكلامهم ، قوة في (١) البلاغة ومعرفة بالفصاحة ٠ وكان لي في ذلك ما حمده الفصحاء ، وتعجّب به البلغاء ، وقد يعلم ذلك منّي من تأمّل كلامي في بعض الكتب التي الّفتها في احد الفنون العلمية ٠

فشاهدتُ المعجزة (٢) التي لا تباريه الفصاحة

(١٢) ع : في ٠ (١٣) ع يواصل : يسير ، على حالة شديدة من الضعف ٠ (١٤) ع : ومدائن ٠ (١٥) ع : ز :عامر ٠ (١٦) ع : ز : وخالد بن الوليد رضي الله عنه ٠ (١٧) ع :ز : الصدّيق ٠ (١٨) ع : ز : بن الخطاب ٠

27a

(١) ع : س ٠ (٢) ب : العجز الذي ٠

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الآدمية في القرآن • فعلمت صحة اعجازه • ثم انّي لمّا هذّبت خاطري للعلوم (٣) الرياضية ولا سيما الهندسة(٤) وبراهينها ، راجعت نفسي في اختلاف الناس في الاديان والمذاهب• وكان اكبر(٥)المحركاتلي الى البحثعنذلك مطالعتي كتاب برذويه الطبيب من كتاب كليلة ودمنة وما وجدت فيه •

فعلمتُ ان العقلحاكم يَجب(٦)تحكيمهعلى كلّيات امور عالَمنا هذا • اذ لولا ان العقل ارشدنا الى اتباع الانبياء والرسل وتصديق المشائخ والسلف لما صدقناهم في سائر ما تلقيناه (٧) عنهم• وعلمتُ ، انه اذا كان اصل التَّمسُّك بالمذاهب الموروثة عن السلف واصل اتباع الانبياء ممّا ادّى اليه العقل ، فإن تحكيم العقل على كلّيات جميع ذلك واجب• واذا نحن حكّمنا (٨) العقل على ما نقلناه عن الآباء والاجداد ، علمنا ان النقل عن السلف ليس يوجب العقل قبوله من غير امتحان لصحّته، بل بمجرّد كونه مأخوذا عن السلف ، لكن من اجل انه (٩) يكون امرا ذا حقيقة في ذاته والحُجَّة موجودة بصحّته•فاما الابوة والسلفية وحدها

(٣) ب : العلوم • ع : بالعلوم •
(٤) ع : الهندسية • (٥) ع : اكثر الحركات الى • (٦) ك : تحت • (٧) ب ، ر : نقلناه • ع : نقلنا • (٨) ع : ان • (٩) ك : لصحّته • (١٠)

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فليست حُجَّة (١٠)، اذ لو كانت حجة، لكانت ايضا حجَّة لسائر الخصوم الكفار ، كالنصارى: فانهم نقلوا عن اسلافهم أن عيسى ابن الله، وانه الرازق المانع الضَّارّ النافع. فان كان تقليد الآباء والاسلاف يدل على صحة ما نُقل (١١)

27b

عنهم، فان ذلك يلزم منه الاقرار بصحَّة مقالة (١) النصارى ومقالة المجوس .

وان كان هذا التقليد لاسلاف اليهود خاصة دون غيرهم من الامم فلا يقبل منهم ذلك (٢) الاّ إن ياتوا بدليل على ان اباءهم (٣) كانوا اعقل (٤) من اباء الامم واسلافهم ، فان (٥) اليهود ادّعت ذلك في حق ابائها واسلافها ، فجميع اخبار اسلافهم ناطقة بتكذيبهم في ذلك . واذا تركنا (٦) التعصُّب لهم ، فنحن نجعل لابائهم اسوة بسائر أباء غيرهم من الامم . فاذا كانت اباء النصارى وغيرهم قد نقلوا عن ابائهم الكفر والضلال الذي تهرب العقول منه ، وتنفر الطباع السليمة عنه ، فليس بممتنع ان يكون ما نقله اليهود عن ابائهم

ع : بحجة . (١١) د ، ع ، ك : ينقل .

27b

(١) ع : س كلمتين . (٢) ب : س . (٣) ع : ز : واسلافهم . (٤) ع يواصل : الامام . فاذا ادّعت اليهود . (٥) ب ، ك : ادعت اليهود . (٦) ب ، د ، ق ، ك : طلبنا . (٧) التابع الى كلمة (انه) يوجد في ب ،

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ايضا بهذه الصفة ٠

فلما علمت (٧) ان اليهود لهم اسوة بغيرهم فيما نقلوه عن الاباء والاسلاف ، علمت انه ليس بايديهم حجّـة صحيحة بنبوة موسى الا شهادة التواتر ، وهذا التواتر موجود لعيسى ومحمد كوجوده لموسى عليهم السلام اجمعين(٨) فان(٩) كان التواتر يفيد تصديقا فالثلاثة صادقون ونبوتهم معا صحيحة ٠

وعلمت ايضا أنّي لم ار موسى بعيني ولم اشاهد معجزاته ولا معجزات غيره من الانبياء عليهم السلام٠ ولولا النقل وتقليد الناقلين لما عرفنا شيئا من ذلك٠ فعلمت انه لا يجوز للعاقل ان يصدق بواحد ويكذب بواحد من هؤلاء الانبياء عليهم السلام لانه لم ير احدهم ولا شاهد احواله الا بالنقل، وشهادة التواتر موجودة لثلاثتهم ٠ فليس من العقل ولا من الحكمة ان يصدق احدهم و يُكذب الباقون ، بل الواجب عقلا إما تصديق الكل (١٠) فإما تكذيب الكل ٠

فاما تكذيب الكلّ فان العقل لا يوجبه ايضا لانّا انمـا نجدهم اتوا بمكارم الاخلاق وندبوا الى الفضائل ونهوا عن الرذائل ولأنّا نجدهم (١١) ساسوا العالَم بسياسة (١٢) بها

ر ، ع ٠ (٨) ب : لموسى عليه السلام وعليهم اجمعين ٠ (٩) ر : فاذا ٠
(١٠) ع : ز : او بعض الكل ٠ (١١) ع : ز : قد ٠(١٢) ع : سياسة ٠

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28a

صلاح حال (أ) اهله ٠

فصحّ عندي بالدليل القاطع نبوة المسيح والمصطفى صلى الله عليهما وسلم وآمنت بهما ٠ فمكثت برهة اعتقد ذلك من غير ان التزم الفرائض الاسلامية، مراقبة لأبي٠ وذلك انه كان شديد الحبّ لي ، قليل الصبر عنّي ، كثير البرّ بي ، وكان قد احسن تربيتي ، اذ شغلني منذ اول حداثتي بالعلوم البرهانية وربّى (١) ذهني وخاطري في الحساب والهندسة، العلمين اللذين مدح افلاطون عقل من يتربى ذهنه في النظر فيهما٠ فمكثت مدة طويلة لا يُفتح عليّ وجه الهداية ، ولا تنحل(٢)عني هذه الشبهة، وهي مراقبة ابي، الى ان حالت الاسفار بيني وبينه وبعُدت داري عن داره وانا مقيم على مراقبته (٣) والتذمّم (٤) من ان افجعه بنفسي٠

وحان وقت الهداية وجاءتني الموعظة الالهية برؤيتي للنبي صلى الله عليه وسلم في المنام (٥) ليلة الجمعة تاسع ذي الحجة سنة ثمان وخمسين وخمسمائة وكان ذلك بمراغة (٦) من آذربيجان ٠

28a

(أ) : ب : س ٠ (١) ع : وزين ٠ (٢) ع : تحل ٠ (٣) ب : مراقبتي ٠ (٤) ع : والتزم ٠ (٥) د ، ع : ذ : في ٠ (٦) ع : بالمراغة ٠ (٧)

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وهذا شرح ما رايت

وهذا (٧) المنـام الاوّل الذي (٧) رأيته

رأيت كأني في صحراء (٨) فيحاء ، مخضرة الأرجـاء يلوح من شرقيها (٩) شجرة عظيمة ، والناس يهرعـون الى تلك الشجرة • فسألتُ بعضهم عن حال الناس فقـال «إن تحت الشجـرة شموائيل النبي جـالس والنـاس يسلّمون عليه »• فسررتُ بما سمعته وقصدت الشجرة فوجدت في ظلّها شيخا جسيما ، بهيا ، وقورا ، شديد بياض الشعر ، عظيم الهيبة ، بيده كتاب ينظر فيه • فسلّمت عليه • وقلت بلسان عربيّ «السلام عليـك يا نبي الله» • فالتفت اليّ متبسّما وهشّ اليّ ، وقال «وعليك السلام ، يا شريكنا في الاسم ، اجلس

28b

لنعرض عليك امرا »• فجلست بين يديه • فدفع اليّ الكتاب الذي بيده (١) وقال «اقرأ ما تجده بين يديك»• فوجدت بين يدي هذه الآية من التوراة :

נביא אקים להם מקרב אחיהם כמוך אליו ישמעון

ب ، ر ، ع : س • (٨) ع : ز : واسعة • (٩) ب ، ع : شرقها •

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(١) ع : بين يديه • (٢) ع : س • (٣) ع : واياي • ر : او اياي •

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نابي اقيم لاهيم مقارب احيهم كاموخا ايلاو يشماعون

تفسيره : نبيًّا اقيم لهم من وسط اخوتهم مثلك به فليؤمنوا٠

وهذه مناجاة من الله عز وجلّ لموسى (٢) وكنت اعرف ان اليهود يقولون ان هذه الآية نزلت في حقّ شموائيل النبي لانّه كان مثل موسى ، يعنون انّه كان من سبط ليوى ، وهو السبط الذي كان منه موسى ٠ فلما وجدتُ بين يدي هذه الآية من التوراة، قرأتها وظننتُ انه يذهب الى الافتخار بان الله ذكره في التوراة وبشَّر به موسى عليه السلام ٠ فقلتُ «هنيئا (٢) لك (٢) يا نبي الله ، ما خصَّك الله به من هذه المنزلة»٠ فنظر اليّ مغضبا وقال «أو إيَّاي (٣) اراد الله بهذا ، يا ذكيا ، ما افادتك اذاً البراهين الهندسية» ٠ فقلتُ «يا نبي الله ، فمَن اراد الله بهذا ؟» قال « الذي اراد به في قوله הופיע מהר פארן »

وتفسيره اشارة الى نبوة وُعد (٢) بنزولها على جبال فاران٠ فلما قال لي ذلك عرفت انّه يعني المصطفى (٤) صلى الله عليه وسلم لانه المبعوث من جبال فاران ، وهي جبال مكة ، لأن التوراة ناطقة نصًّاً بان فاران مسكن لآل اسماعيل ،

ب ، ق : اوباي ٠ (٤) ب : ز : محمدا ٠ (٥) ر ، ق ، ك تسقط

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وذلك قول التوراة וישב במדבר פארן

تفسيره : واقام في برية فاران (٥) ، يعني اسماعيل ولد ابراهيم الخليل عليهما السلام.

ثم انه عاد والتفت اليّ وقال «اما (٦) علمت ان الله لم يبعثني بنسخ شيء من التوراة ، وانما بعثني لأذكرهم بها واحيي شرائعها واخلّصهم من اهل فلسطين؟» فقلت «بلى، يا نبي (٧) الله». قال (٨) «فأي حاجة لهم الى ان يوصيهم

29a

ربهم باتباع مَن لم ينسخ دينهم ولم يغيّر شريعتهم ؟ ارأيتهم احتاجوا الى ان يوصيهم بقبول نبوة دانيال او ارميا (١) او حزقيل ؟» فقلت «لا، لعمري، لم تحتج (٢) الى ذلك». ثم اخذ المصحف من يدي وانصرف مغضبا.

فارتعت لغضبه وازدجرتُ (٣) لموعظته . واستيقظت مذعورا وجلست . وكان وقت السحر ، والمصباح يقد في غاية استنارته . فتذكرت المنام جميعه فاذا انا قد تخيلته ، لا يذهب عليّ (٤) منه شيء

الترجمة . (٦) ب : اوما . (٧) ب : رسول (٨) ع : فقال .

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(١) ب : يرميا. (٢) ع : نحتج. (٣) ع : وانزجرت . (٤) ب : س .

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فقلت «انّ ذلك لطف من الله سبحانه وتعالى وموعظة لإزالة الشبهة التي كانت تمنعني من اعلان كلمة الحق والتظاهر بالاسلام»• فتبت الى الله من ذلك واستغفرته ، واكثرت من الصلاة على رسول (٥) الله (٥) المصطفى (٦) صلى الله عليه وسلم• واسبغت الوضوء وصلّيت عدة ركعات لله، عز وجل ، وانا شديد الفرح والسرور بما قد انكشف لي من الهداية• ثم جلست مفكرا (٧)• فغلب علي النوم عند تفكّري ونمت•

(المنام الثاني)

فرأيت كأني جالس في سكّة عامرة لا اعرفها ، اذ اتاني آت ، عليه ثياب المتصوّفة وزيّ الفقراء ، فلم يسلّم عليّ لكنّه قال «اجب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم»• فهبته وقمت معه مسرورا مسرعا مستبشرا بلقاء النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم• فسار بين يديّ وانا من ورائه حتى انتهى الى باب دار • فدخله واستدخلني، فدخلت وراءه، وسرت خلفه في دهليز طويل قليل الظلمة الا أنه مظلم• فلما انتهيت الى طرف الدهليز وعلمت انه قد حان اشراف النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم، هبت لقاءه هيبة شديدة، فاخذت في الاستعداد للقائه وسلامه•

وذكرت اني كنت قد قرأت في اخباره صلى الله عليه

(٥) سيدنا محمد • (٦) ع : س • (٧) ر : متفكرا • (٨) ع : قال •

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وسلم انه كان اذا لقي في (٦) جماعة قيل (٨) «سلام (٩) عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته (١٠) » واذا لقي وحده

29b

قيل «السلام عليك ، يا رسول الله ، ورحمة الله وبركاته »٠ فعزمتُ على انّي (١) اسلّم عليه سلاما عامًّا (٢) لتدخل الجماعة في السلام ، لأني رأيت ذلك كأنه الأولى والاليق ٠

ثم اشرفت على صحن الدار ، وكان مقابل الدهليز مجلس طويل وعن يسرة الداخل مجلس آخر ، وليس في الدار غير هذين المجلسين ٠ وفي كل واحد من المجلسين رجلان لا احقق الآن صور اولئك الرجال الا اني اظنّ اكثرهم كانوا شباناء لكنهم كانوا كالمتهيئين(٣) للسفر٠ فمنهم من يلبس ثيابا للسفر، واسلحتهم قريبة منهم٠

ورأيت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قائما فيما بين المجلسين ، اعني في الزاوية التي في ذلك (٤) الركن من اركان (٥) الصحن ، وكأنه قد كان في شغل ، وقد فرغ منه وانقلب عنه ليشرع في غيره٠ ففجأته بالدخول عليه قبل شروعه في غيره٠ وكان صلى الله عليه وسلم لابس ثياب

(٩) ع : السلام ٠ (١٠) ع : قفزة الى كلمة فعزمت في الصفحة التالية ٠

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(١) ب ، ع : ان ٠ (٢) ع : تاما ٠ (٣) د : متاهبين ٠ (٤) ع : س ٠

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بيض وعمامته معتدلة اللطافة ، وعلى عنقه رداء ابيض حول عنقه• وهو معتدل القامة، نبيل، جسيم، معتدل اللون بين البياض والحمرة واليسير من السمرة، اسود الحاجبين والعينين وشعر محاسنه نصف كأنه شعره• وشعره ومحاسنه ايضا معتدلة بين طول والقصر•

ولما دخلت عليه ورأيته ، التفت اليّ ورآني فاقبل عليّ مبتسما وهش اليَّ جدّا • فذهلت لهيبته عما كنت قد عزمت عليه من السلام (٦) فسلمت سلاما خاصًّا فقلتُ «السلام عليك، يا رسول الله ورحمة (٧) الله وبركاته» • والغيت الجماعة• فلم التفت ببصري وقلبي (٨) الا اليه• فقال «وعليك السلام ورحمة الله وبركاته»• ولم يكن بين تسليمي عليه وبين سعيي اليه توقف ولا زمان ، بل جريت اليه (٩)

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مسرعا واهويت بيدي الى يده، ومدّ يده الكريمة اليّ فاسكنها بيدي ، وقلتُ «اشهد ان لا (١) اله الا الله وانَّك رسول الله»• وذلك انه خطر بقلبي (٢) ان النُّحَّاة منهم من

(٥) في ع ملاحظة الناشر : الى هنا ما تم الكلام لفقد نسخة تمام المنام • (٦) ب : ز : العامّ • (٧) ق : ورحمته •(٨) ب : ولا بقلبي • (٩) ب : س •

30a

(١) ب : الا • (٢) ب : ز : حينئذ • (٣) ر ، عا : يكونان مسخران •

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زعم ان الاسماء الاعلام هي اعرف المعارف ومنهم من يقول ان الاسماء المضمرة هي اعرف المعارف وهو الصحيح؛ لان الكاف من قولي «انّك» لا يشارك المخاطَب فيه احد لانها لا تقع الا عليه وحده ٠

فرأيته قد ملىء ابتهاجا ٠ ثم جلس في الزاوية التي بين المجلسين٠ وجلستُ بين يديه ٠ وقال «تأهب للمسير معنا الى غمدان للغزاة»٠

فلمّا قال ذلك وقع في نفسي انه يعني المدينة العظمى التي هي كرسيّ ملك الصين ، وان الاسلام لم يستولِ عليها بعد ٠ وكنت قد قرأت قبل ذلك ان الطريق الاقرب المسلوك الى الصين في البحر الاخضر ، وهو اشدّ البحار أهوالا واعظمها اخطارا٠ فلما سمعتُ ذلك القول من النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم خفت من ركوب البحر وقلت في نفسي: ان الحكماء لا يركبون البحار ، فكيف اركب البحر ؟ ثم قلت في نفسي ايضا من غير توقُّف: ـ يا سبحان الله، انا قد آمنتُ بهذا النبي وبايعته ، افيأمرني بأمر ولا اتابعه؟ فاذاً ايّ مبايعة تكون مبايعتي له؟ وعزمت على السمع والطاعة٠ ثم وقع لي خاطر آخر وقلت: اذا كان معنا رسول الله صلى الله

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عليه وسلم واصحابه فان البر والبحر يكون مسخرا (٣) لنا ولا خوف علينا من سائر الاخطار. وطاب قلبي بذلك وحسن يقيني وقبولي. وانا اذكر ان هذه الافكار والخواطر ظهرت (٤) لي وانا بين يدي النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم في غير زمان ، اعني من غير توقُّف يستبطئني به عن اجابته .

فما كان باسرع من ان قلت له سمعا وطاعة ، يا رسول الله. فقال «على خيرة الله».

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فقمت (٥) بين يديه وخرجت. فما وجدت في الدهليز (١) الظُّلمة التي كانت فيه عند الدخول. فلما خرجت من الدار ومشيت قليلا وجدت (٢) كأني في سوق مراغة، فيما بين الصيارف وبين المدرسة القضوية ، وكانّي ارى ثلاثة نفر عليهم زيّ المتصوفة وثياب الزهّاد. ومنهم من على بدنه صدرة صوف خشن ، اسود ، وعلى رأسه مئزر من جنسها ، وبيده قوس ملفوقة في لباد خَلَق وبيده الاخرى حربة نصابها من سعف النخل. والآخر متقلّد سيفا غمده من خُوص النخل. لأنه كان قد انطبع في خيالي منذ كنت صغيرا ، حين قرأت أخبار ظهور دولة الاسلام ، كيف كان

(٤) ب ، ، د ، عا : خطرت . (٥)د : ز : من .

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اصحاب النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ضعفاء ، فقراء (٣) ، وليس لهم من الآلات الا شبيها بما ذكرنا ، وانهم مع ذلك كانوا ينصرون على الجيوش الكثيفة والخيول العديدة ذوي الشوكة القوية • فلما رأيت النفر الثلاثة قلت : هؤلاء هم المجاهدون والغزاة، هؤلاء اصحاب النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم مع هؤلاء اسافر واغزو• وكانت الدمعة تبدر من عيني في النوم لفرط سروري بهم وغبطتي بهم (٤)•

ثم استيقظتُ والصبح لم يسفر بعد • فاسبغت الوضوء وصلّيت الفجر وانا شديد الحرص على اشهار كلمة الحقّ واعلان الانتقال الى دين الاسلام • وكنت حينئذ بمراغة من اذربيجان ، في ضيافة الصاحب الامجد فخر الدين ابي العزّ عبد العزيز بن محمود بن سعد بن علي بن حميد المضري ، رحمة الله عليه (٥)• وكان قد ابتلي بمرض (٦) قد عافاه الله منه• ولي به انس متقدم •

فدخلت اليه في اوائل نهار الجمعة المذكور يومئذ ، وعرّفته ان الله قد رفع الحجاب عنّي وهداني (٧) • فما

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(١) عا : ز : من • (٢) ب : ز : قسي • (٣) ب ، عا : و••• (٤) ر ، عا ، ك : اياهم • (٥) الاسم الكامل في ب • (٦) ر ، عا : ابلى من مرض • (٧) ر ، عا : وقد هداني •

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اعظم استبشاره يومئذ بذلك ! وقال :

الله ، ان هذا الامر ما زلت اتمنّاه واترجاه وطالما قد حاورت قاضي القضاة صدر الدين في ذلك ، وكنّا جميعا نتأسف على علومك وفضائلك ان(١) لا تكون اسلامية، فالحمد لله على ما الهمك به من صلاح (٢) وهداية وعلى استجابته دعاءنا في ذلك . فقل لي ، كيف فتح الله عليك ذلك (٣) وسهله بعد ارتاجه وامتناعه ؟

فقلت: ذلك امر اوقعه الله في نفسي بالالهام، والفكر ودليله العقلي، وبرهانه، قد كنت قديما اعرفه، ودليله في(٤) التوراة، الا اني كنت اراقب ابي واكره ان افجعه بنفسي، تذمُّما من الله تعالى، والآن (٥) قد زالت عني هذه الشبهة، مدّ يدك، فانا (٦) اشهد ان لا اله الا الله واشهد ان محمدا رسول الله.

فقام الصاحب لفرط سروره قائما ، واهتزّ فرحا، وكان قبل ذلك لا يقوم الا بالتكلُّف ، وغاب عني واستجلسني الى

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(١) عا : بان . (٢) ب : الصلاح . (٣) عا : س . (٤) ب ، ر ، عا : من (٥) ر ، عا ، ك : فقد . (٦) ر : انا ، عا : فاني .

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عودته ، وافاض عليّ (٧) من الملابس اجلّها، وحملني من المراكب على انبلها ، وامر خواصّه بالسعي الى (٨) الجامع بين يدي. وكان الصاحب قد تقدّم الى الخطيب وامره (٩) بالتأخير والتوقّف الى وقت حضوري في المسجد لأن الوقت ضاق الى ان فرغ الخياطون من خياطة الجُبَّة التي امر الصاحب بتفصيلها.

فسرت (١٠) الى الجامع ، والجماعة في انتظاري . وارتفع التكبير من جماعة أهل المسجد حين أشرفت عليهم. وارتج المسجد الجامع من صلاتهم على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم . ثم رقى الخطيب المنبر (١١) ووعظ الناس القاضي صدر الدين ملك الوُعاظ ابو بكر محمد بن عبد الله بن عبد الرحيم بن يل (١٢) ، واطنب في مدحي واحماد ما
31b
ايدني الله به من التيقُّظ والهداية وبالغ في ذلك مبالغة تتجاوز حد الوصف . وكان اكثر المجلس متعلقا بي .

وفي عشية ذلك اليوم ، اعني (١) ليلة عيد النحر ، ابتدأتُ بتحرير الحجج المُفحمة لليهود ، والّفتها في كتاب وسمّيته

(٧) ر ، عا : س . (٨) ب : ز: المسجد . (٩) ب ، ر، عا، ك : س . (١٠) ب ، ك : فصرت . (١١)ب ، ر ، عا تتابع : ومن بعد صلاة الجمعة وعظ . (١٢) غير واضح (لل ، لمل لملى ؟) .
31b
(١) عا : ز : عشية (١ أ) ق ، ك : طال . (٢) عا : س . (٣) ر ، عا :

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بافحام اليهود. واشتهر ذلك الكتاب، وطار (١أ) خبره ، وانتسخ مني (٢) في عدّة بقاع نسخا كثيرة (٣)، بالموصل واعمالها، وديار بكر، والعراق، وبلد العجم .

ثم اضفتُ اليه بعد وقت فصولا كثيرة من الاحتجاج على اليهود من التوراة حتى صار كتابا بديعا لم يُعمل في الاسلام مثله في مناظرة اليهود البتّة .

وامّا المنام الاول والمنام الثاني (٤) فاني لم اذكرهما للصاحب ولا لغيره من اهل مراغة الى انقضاء اربع سنين من (٥) اوان رؤيتهما . وكان ذلك (٦) لشيئين. (٧) احدهما اني كرهت ان اذكر امرا لا يقوم عليه البرهان فربما تسرع خاطر من يسمعه الى تكذيبه لأنّه امر نادر ، قليل ما يتّفق مثله (٨) . اذ كان العاقل يكره ان يعرض كلامه (٩) للتكذيب سرّا او علانية . ـ والثاني اني كرهت ان يصل خبر المنامين الى من يحسدني في البلاد على ما فضلني الله به من العلم والحُرمة ، فيجعل ذلك طريقا الى التشنيع عليّ والازراء على مذهبي ، فيقول : ان فلانا ترك دينه لمنام رآه

كثيرا . (٤) عا : الاول والثاني . (٥) ب ، ر ، عا : منذ . (٦) ب ، ر ، عا : ز : مني . (٧) ر ، عا : لسببين . (٨) ر ، عا : س . (٩) ق : س .

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وانخدع لاضغاث احلام (١٠) ٠

فاخفيتُ ذلك الى ان اشتهر كتاب اقحام اليهـود وكثر نسختهٌ وقراءة (١١) على جماعة كثيرة من الناس (١٢) ٠ فلمَّا تحقَّق الناس، اعني (١٣) ان انتقالي من مذهب اليهود انما كان بدليل ، وبرهان ، وحجج قطعيَّة عرفتها ، واني كنت اخفي ذلك ولا ابوح به مدّة مراقبة لأبي، وبرّا به ، فحينئذ (١٤) اظهرتُ قصَّة المنامين وأوضحتُ انهما كانا

32a

موعظة من الله تعالى وتنبيها على ما يجب علي تقديمه ولا يحلّ لي تأخيره بسبب والد او غيره ٠

وكتبتُ كتابا الى ابي الى حلب ، وانا يومئذ بحصن كيفا ، واوضحت له في ذلك الكتاب عدة حجج وبراهين مما اعلم انه لا ينكره ولا يقدر على ابطاله، واخبرته ايضا بخبر المنامين ٠ فانحدر الى الموصل ليلقاني ، وفاجأه مرض جاءه بالموصل ، فهلك به (١) ٠

فليعلم الآن من يقرأ هذه الاوراق ان المنام لم يكن باعثا

(١٠) ب : الاحلام ٠ (١١) ب ، ر ، ق : نسخهُ وقراؤه ؟ ٠ (١٢) عا : قفزة الى «اعني» ٠ (١٣) ب : عني ٠ (١٤) ب ، عا : حينئذ ٠

32a

(١) ب ، ر ، ك : فيه ٠ (٢) ب : س ٠ (٣) ر ، عا تواصلان : ارتقابا

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على ترك المذهب الاوّل • فان العاقل لا يجوز ان ينخدع عن احواله بالمنامات والاحلام من غير برهان ولا (٢) دليل• لكنني كنت قد عرفت قبل ذلك بزمان طويل الحجج والبراهين والادلّة على نبوة سيدنا محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم• فتلك الحجج والبراهين هي سبب الانتقال والهداية • واما المنام فانما كانت فائدته الانتباه والازدجار من التمادي في الغفلة والتربُّص باعلان كلمة الحقّ (٣) بعد هـذا ارتقابا (٤) بموت ابي •

فالحمد لله على الاسـلام وكلمة الحق ونور الايمـان ونور (٥) الهداية • واسأله الارشاد لما يُرضيـه بمحمـد وآله (٦) •

بالموت • س : ابي (٤) ق : س • (٥) ب ، ر: وزلفى• ك : وهو نور • (٦) ب : ز : صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وصحبه وسلم •

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T21

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (١)
نسخة مسئلة وردت على السموءل
من بعض الزنادقة المتفلسفة

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

انتقال سيّدنا الامام (٢) الحبر ، العالم الاوحد ، الرئيس مؤيد الدين ، شمس الاسلام ، اوحد العصر ، ملك الحكماء ،

T22

ادام الله تأييده ، وارغم حسوده ، من الملّة الاسرائيلية الى الملّة الاسلامية إما هوى واستحسان وعبث (١) او بدليل وبرهان. فاما الهوى والاستحسان والعبث فهو ما يقبح بمثله ، ولا يليق لمن وصل الى درجته من العلم، ولا سيّما في الاعتقاد والدين . وإن قال انه بدليل وبرهان وبحث ونظر ، فان كان هذا البحث والنظر بعقل حدث له فيما بعد ، فربما حدث له عقل آخر فيُريه ان ما هو عليه الآن باطل. وان كان ذلك البحث بالعقل الاول فهلا كان ذلك البحث قبل ذلك

T21

(١) رسالة الى السموءل وجوابه . من آخر ط ، ومن مخطوطة فاتح (ف) . فتوجد ملاحظة غير واضحة على الحاشية : ما بين الكلامين كان مضروبا عليه تأدبا وتحاشيا من ان يكتب القابه بخطه . (٢) ف : ز الحبر الهمام . T22 (١) ف : او عبث.

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الوقت؟ ولعلّه لو ازداد في البحث والنظر لعلم ان الحقّ في غير المذهب الذي صار اليه ٠

وان قال ـ عرفت ان الحقّ في هـذا الدين بالدليـل والبرهان ، قلنا ـ باي طريق ؟ ثم انه لا يعلم احد ان مذهبا اصحّ من سائر المذاهب الا اذا بحث واستقصى عن جميع المذاهب ، وتأمّل جميع ما اصّله اربابها ، وحججهم ٠ فان هو ادّعى ذلك فهو محال لأن عمره لا يفي لمطالعة جميع ما اصّله سائر اصحاب المذاهب والاديان ٠ ولعلّه ، لو سئل عن حقيقة دين المجوس والثنوية والبراهمة لما كان قيّما بعلوم مذهبهم ٠

وايضا فان الملة التي قد (٢) انتقل اليها هي على مذاهب كثيرة٠ فالى ايها انتسب وايها اختار ؟ فان كان الى الآن غيـر منتسب الـى احدها فهو الى الآن غير مسلم ٠ وان كان قد رجّح احد المذاهب فبأي طريق ؟ إن ادعى البرهان استحال ذلك لأنه يلزم منه ان يكون قد اطّلع على سائر كلام اصحاب الشافـعي ، وابن حنيفـة ، ومالك ، واحمـد ٠ وإن كان قد رجّح احد المـذاهب استحسانا وهـوىً او تقليداً فذلك مما لا يليق بالعلماء والحكماء٠وحينئذ يرتفع عنهم الملك٠

ورأى سيدنا الامام الحبـر فـي تأمّل ذلك والاجابـة عنـه اعلى٠

(٢) ف انتقلت ٠

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نسخة الجواب

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

سيقول السفهاء من الناس : ما ولاّهم عـن قبلتهم التي كانوا عليها ؟ ، قل : لله المشرق والمغرب ، يهدي من يشـاء الى صراط مستقيـم (١) ٠

تأمَّلت ما ذكره هذا المعترض السائل عمَّا لا يعنيـه ٠ فليعلم ان الله هداني بالدليل الواضح والحجَّة الثـابتة ، من غير تقليد لمعلم او والد٠

T23

واما سؤاله عن وقت الاذعان بالكلمة الاسلامية ، هل كان تاليا لاعتقادها او تخلَّل بينهما زمان كانت هذه الكلمة فيه مضمرة ، غير مظهرة ـ فهو ضرب من الفضول لأن الاسلام مقبول عند الله وعند اهل الدين في ايّ الوقتين كان ٠

واما نسبته لتأخير اظهاره الى العبث ـ فمن اين له ان تاخير الاذعان والاشهار لم يكن لتوخّي وقت او لمحاذرة عدوّ؟ على انَّا نبرأ الى الله من التضجيع في اجابة الداعي الى

(١) سورة البقرة (١٤٢) ١٣٦٠

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الحق بعد معرفته . ولكن عقيب ما كشف الله عن البصيرة ، وجاد بنور الهداية بادرت الى الانضمام الى زمرة الحق.

وامّا قوله انّه ، كما حدث له هذا عقلا ، فربما حدث له عقل آخر يريه ان ما هو عليه باطل ـ فجوابه ان هذا تمثيل فاسد ، وكلام مختلّ لانّ هذا الاعتراض انما يرد على من انتقل الى دين ببحث ونظر ثم انتقل عن الدين الثاني الى دين ثالث ببحث آخر ونظر آخر ، لا على من نبذ المحالات التي حصلت في وهمه بالتلفُّق من الاباء في الطفولة، وانس بها ، واعتادها من غير ان تصحّ عنده ببحث ونظر ، ثم انه ، لما اتّفق له اعمال الفكر والبحث ، ادّاه العقل والأدلّة الصحيحة الى الحقّ لانّ ذلك المهجور المتروك لم يؤدّه اليه نظر. فكيف يلزمه ما ذكر من الشبهة ؟

واما قوله ـ هل بحث عن جميع المذاهب فانّه لا حاجة لي الى ذلك لأن الحقّ في جهة واحدة وليس بمتعدّد. فلمّا قادني الدليل الى المذهب الحقّ لزم من صحته بطلان سائر المذاهب المخالفة له ، من غير حاجة الى الاطّلاع على جميع ما حرره اربابها .

وامّا قوله ـ لو بحث لعلم ان الحقّ في غير ما هو عليه .

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فهو محال لانّ الحقّ لا يتعدّد ٠

واما سؤاله عن ما الطريق الذي صحت به عندي دعوة المصطفى ، صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم (١) ، فان شهادة هذه الامم العظيمة بنبوّته مع المعجز الاعظم الذي لم يبار فيه ، وهو فصاحة القرآن ، دلّني على ذلك ، واكّد ذلك اشارات فهمتها من التوراة دلّت عليه الاّ ان الاوّل هو الاصل في الدلالة ٠

واما سؤاله عن المذهب الاسلامي الذي انتسبتُ اليه ، وما

T24

زعم انه يلزمني من مطالعة جميع مذاهب الأئمة ، فهو شبهة لا تلزمني وسؤال عمّا لا يعنيه الا ان جوابي عنه هو الجواب الاوّل بعينه، وهو ان الدليل قادني الى مذهب اعتقد بصحته، فلا حاجة لي الى تصفُّح غيره لان الحقّ غير متعدد في المذاهب كما انه غير متعدد في الملّة٠ على ان الاختلاف بين الائمة المسلمين انما هو في توابع وصغائر ، لا في اصل العقيدة بحيث يكفر بعضهم بعضا ، اعني اصحاب الشافعي وابي حنيفة ومالك واحمد ، رضي الله عنهم ، دون اصحاب البدع٠

(١) ف : س ٠

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على ان هذا السائل عما لا يعنيه ، اذا قام (١) هذا المقام، فسبيله ان يقوي ما هـدّمتُ من حجـج اليهود ، ويتشاغل بنصرتهم عن السؤال عما لا يعنيه ، لأني قد اظهرت فساد اعتقادهم وتناقض ما عندهم في «الافحام» • فذلك اولى من الاخلاد الى شبهة الزنادقة وهذيانات المتفلسفة الكفّار الذين يجب قتلهم في الملّة التي فارقتها والملّة التي هداني الله اليها •

وامـــا ما ختم به كلامـه فـذاك امـر مرفـوع عـــلى الحقيقة الا ان الملوك والسلاطين جرت عادتهم ان يخصّوا كل واحد بما يرونه له اهلا ، حراسة للمراتب من تطاول غير الاكفاء • والحسد لا يزيد اهـله الا خمولا • شعر (٢) :

واذا خفيتُ على الغبيّ فعاذر ان لا تراني مُقلةٌ عمياءُ

والسـلام

تم الجواب

(١) ط ، ف : رام ، دام ؟

(٢) ف : س •

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عنوان الكتاب وختامه

العناوين

ب (ناقص)

د بذل المجهود في اقناع اليهود الى المرحوم الفاضل السمؤل بن يحيى ابن عاديا (!) المغربي الذي ترجمه صاحب عيون الانباء في تاريخ الاطباء وكان المؤلف من احبار اليهود فاسلم بسبب رؤيته النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم

ر بذل المجهود في افحام اليهود

ط افحام اليهود من امالي السموءل بن يحيى بن عباس المغربي.... .... نقل هذه الاسطر من خط السموءل احوج خلق الله اليه محمود بن مسعود الشيرازي ختم الله له بالحسنى.

صادق .

ع بذل المجهود في افحام اليهود

عا كتاب غاية المقصود في الرد على النصارى واليهود

ق افحام طائفة اليهود

ك افحام اليهود

ختام الكتاب

في النصوص المختلفة

في آخر ب :

فصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم . وكتب من نسخة بخط السموءل المصنف المذكور وفرغ منهافي الحادي والعشرين من شهر رمضان المعظم سنة خمس وثلاثين وسبعمائة

حاشية: نظر فيه العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى ابو بكر عمر الازهري الشافعي غفر الله له ولولده ولجميع المسلمين . امين والحمد لله رب العالمين

ملحوظة بالمراجعة من الناسخ

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ملحوظة - في الهامش

نظر فيه العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى ابو بكر عمر الازهري الشافعي الشاذلي غفر الله له ولوالده ولجميع المسلمين امين والحمد لله رب العالمين

في آخر د :

والحمد لله رب العالمين وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وعلى آله وصحبه اجمعين • تم الكتاب بعونه تعالى بقلم الحقير الى ربه المانح محمد صادق فهمي بن السيّد امين المالح المقيم المستقيم بالمكتبة العموم بدمشق لاجل النسخ فقط رحمهما الله وعفا عنهما وعن المسلمين امين • م • سنة ١٣٢٩

في آخر ر :

تم اسلام السموءل والحمد لله رب العالمين وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل ••• ولا حول ••• وصلى •• سلاما كثيرا •

في آخر ط : نص «الافحام» قبل الرسالتين:

نقلت هذا الكتاب من خط السموءل وكان مكتوبا في آخر تلك النسخة : كتبه مرتجلا مؤلفه ابو نصر السموءل بن يحيى بن عباس المغربي بخطه حامدا لله على افضاله ومصليا على رسوله محمد المصطفى وآله المجتمعين•

بعد الرسالتين :

وقد نقله احوج خلق الله اليه محمد بن مسعود الشيرازي ختم الله له بالحسنى من خط السموءل وذلك في شيراز ربيع الثاني من شهور سنة ٦٨٥ وفي بلدة قونة حماها الله من الآفات •

في آخر ع :

تم نسخ هذا الكتاب على يد العبد الضعيف الفقير اليه تعالى عبد اللطيف بن الحاج علي المكنى بالرواسي •

وهذه النسخة نقلت عن نسخة الشيخ عبد الرحمن أفندي القصار• وهي عن نسخة تاريخ تأليفها في سنة ثمان وخمسين وخمسمائة بزياداتها • التي اضافها المؤلف اليها في سنة اثنتين وستين وخمسمائة

وأنا الناسخ لها الآن المذكور أعلاه بعون الله •

فأساله تعالى التوفيق لي ولجميع المسلمين آمين ،

تحررت في ١٩ ذي الحجة الحرام سنة ١٣١٨ هجرية

على صاحبها أفضل الصلاة وأزكى التحية

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سنـد النسخة

قد نقل هذا الكتاب من نسخة موجودة عند الشيخ أبي السعادات الدجاني اليافاوي وهو نقلها من نسخة عند مفتي يافا ، وقد نقلها من عندنا خالد افندي عديل احمد باشا الشمعة فليعلم

(تنبيه) عند تمام نسخ هذا الكتاب رأيت في النوم نحو عشرة رجال من احبار اليهود • وبينهم أخونا محمد توفيق بن السيد راغب الخردجي • يناظرهم ويباحثهم في هذا الكتاب وكان سنه اثنتي عشره سنة ، وفي جانبه حضرة الاستاذ العلامة الشيخ طاهر افندي الجزائرلي• وكان حضرة الاستاذ المومى اليه وضع محمد توفيق المذكور لمناظرتهم احتقارا لهم • فغلبهم محمد توفيق وأخجلهم • ثم استيقظت وأنا مسرور

منقول هذا عن خط الشيخ عبد الرحمن القصار

في آخر ف :

وقد نقـله احوج خلق الله اليـه ابن الشريف الكرماني في بلدة الموصل حماها الله من الآفات •

في آخر ق ك :

(قبل قصة الاسـلام)

منقول من خط مصنفه مما وجد مكتوبا في آخر النسخة المنقول منها كتبه مؤلفه السموءل بن يحيى لمغربي فيشهر صفر سنة خمس وستين وخمسمائة هجرية حامدا لله على افضاله ومصليا على رسوله محمد وآله • وذلك في العشر الاول من رمضان المعظم سنة اثنتين (ك اثنين) وثلاثين وسبعمائة

وفي آخر اسلام السموءل : تم خبراسلام السموءل والحمـد لله وحـده وصلاته (ك: وصـلواته) على سيدنـامحمد وعلى آله (ك : وآله) وصحبه وسلم تسليما• وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل•

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ملحق

الاخبار عن السموءل

من كتاب تاريخ الحكماء لابن القفطي

نشره ليبرت ١٩٠٣. ص ٢٠٩

السموءل .

ابن يهوذا المغربي ، الحكيم اليهودي. اظنّه من الاندلس. قدم هو وابوه الى المشرق. وكان ابوه يشدو شيئا من علم الحكمة . وكان ولده السموءل هذا قد قرأ فنون الحكمة ، وقام بالعلوم الرياضية ، واحكم اصولها وفوائدها ونوادرها. وكان عدديا ، هندسيا، هيئيا . وله في ذلك مصنفات رأيت منها كتاب المثلث القائم الزاوية. وقد احسن في تمثيله وتشكيله ، وعدة صوره ، ومبلغ مساحة كل صورة منها. صنفه لرجل من اهل حلب يُدعى الشرف . وصنف منبرا في مساحة اجسام الجواهر المختلطة ، لاستخراج مقدار مجهولها. وصنف كتبا في الطب. وارتحل الى آذربيجان ، وخدم بيت البهلوان وامراء دولتهم ، واقام بمدينة المراغة . واولد اولادا هناك سلكوا طريقته في الطبّ . واسلم فحسن اسلامه . وصنف كتابا في اظهار معايب اليهود ، وكذب دعاويهم في التوراة ، ومواضع الدليل على تبديلها . واحكم ما جمعه في ذلك. ومات بالمراغة قريبا من سنة سبعين وخمسمائة.

من كتاب عيون الانباء في طبقات الاطباء لابن ابي اصيبعة

نشره او. ميلّر ، ١٨٨٤ ، ج ٢، ص ٣١-٣٠

السموءل هو السموءل بن يحيى بن عباس المغربي. كان فاضلا في العلوم الرياضية، عالما بصناعة الطبّ. واصله من بلاد المغرب. وسكن مدة في بغداد ، ثم انتقل الى بلاد العجم ، ولم يزل بها الى آخر عمره . وكان ابوه ايضا يشدو شيئا من علوم الحكمة.

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ونقلت من خط الشيخ موفّق الدين عبد اللطيف بن يوسف البغدادي ، قال :

هذا السموءل شاب بغدادي كان يهوديا واسلم . ومات شابا بالمراغة. وبلغ في العدديات مبلغا لم يصله احد في زمانه. وكان حادّ الذهن جدّا. بلغ في الصناعة الجبرية الغاية القصوى. واقام بديار بكر وآذربيجان. وله رسائل في الجبر والمقابلة يردّ فيها على ابن الخشاب النحوي . وذلك ان ابن الخشاب كان معاصره ، وكان لابن الخشاب مشاركة في الحساب ونظر في الجبر والمقابلة .

وقال الصاحب جمال الدين بن القفطي ان ...

وللسموءل ... من الكتب : كتاب المفيد الاوسط في الطب صنفه في سنة ٥٦٤ ببغداد للوزير مؤيد الدين ابي اسمعيل الحسين بن محمد بن الحسن بن علي :

رسالة الى ابن خدود في مسائل حسابية جبر ومقابلة ،

كتاب اعجاز المهندسين صنفه لنجم الدين ابي الفتح شاه غازي ملك شاه بن ظغرلبك ، وفرغ من تصنيفه في صفر سنة ٥٧٠ ،

كتاب الرد على اليهود ،

كتاب القوامي في الحساب الهندسي الفه في سنة ٥٦٨ ،

كتاب المثلث القائم الزاوية ...،

كتاب المنبر في المساحة ... ،

كتاب في الباه .

[ملاحظة :

اما موفق الدين عبد اللطيف فهو مؤلف كتاب الافادة والاعتبار .... بارض مصر . طبيب، عالم، رحالة (٦٢٩-٥٥٧ ، ١٢٣١-١١٩٢). انظر : بروكلمان ، ملحق ج ١ ص ٨٨٠ .

اما ابن الخشاب فكان من علماء بغداد في الادب والفقه والرياضيات . وتوفي في سنة ٥٦٧ (١١٧٢).

انظر : بروكلمان ، ملحق ، ج ١ ص ٤-٤٩٣

اما «الرسالة الى ابن خدود» فيظهر انها الرسالة الى ابن الخشاب وانه قد وقع تصحيف في الاسم] .

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من تاريخ مختصر الدول

لابن العبري

نشره الاب صالحاني ، ١٨٩٠ ، ص ٣٧٧ .

وكان في هذا الزمان من الحكماء المشهورين بالمشرق السموءل بن يهوذا المغربي الاندلسي ، الحكيم اليهودي ...
(من كلام ابن القفطي) .

من كتاب الوافي للصفدي

من كتاب الوافي للصفدي

(مخطوطة في البودليانا ، اوكسفورد) ص ١٦٥ ب

السموءل ... المغربي ثم البغدادي ، الحاسب . كان يهوديا فاسلم . وبرع في العلوم الرياضية وكان... يتوقد ذكاءً . وسكن آذربيجان ونواحيها... وتوفي في حدود سنة ٥٧٦.

رأيت بعضهم قد كتب في هامش الترجمة في تاريخ ابن النجار (الذيل على تاريخ بغداد) قال :

رأيته بخطّه وقد ضبط اسم جدّه عباس بالباء الموحدة في اول كتابه الذي ردّ فيه على اليهود (ي) . وفي آخره رسالة بخطه قد ذكر مصنفاته وعدتها ٨٥ مصنفا في الحساب والمساحة والجبر والهندسة والنجوم والطب والادب وغير ذلك .

رأى النبي ... في ليلة جمعة... فاصبح فاسلم . وقد عظم نفسه فافرط.

[ملاحظة : عن ابن النجار (٦٤٣-٥٧٨ ، ١٢٤٥-١١٨٣)
انظر في بروكلمان ج ١ ص ٣٦٠ (٤٤٢ في الطبعة الثانية) وملحق ج ١ ص ٦١٣.] .

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من توطئة كتاب الباهر في الحساب للسموءل

نشره عادل انبوبا في مجلة المشرق ١٩٦١ ص٠ ٦٣-٦٢ ٠

هذا الكتاب الذي جمعنا فيه اصول صناعة الجبر والمقابلة وبرهنا منها على ما لم نجد احدا برهن عليه وكملنا بما اودعناه من الاعمال المبتكرة والاشكال المبتدعة ما كان في ايدي الناس من هذه الصناعة وعللنا فيه ما زعم فيثاغورس انه ادركه بطريق الوحي وجئنا به صفوا منزها من التمويهات والشوائب لم نخلط كلامنا بكلام من تقدمنا ...

وكان قد طالع بعض كراريسه ، عند فراغي من سطره ، من مشائخ العلم والدين الامام ناصر الدين ابرهيم الباكوهي ، رحمه الله٠ وكان من الراسخين في العلوم المعقولة والمنقولة ٠ فاستعظم امر الكتاب ، وذهب في الاعجاب كل مذهب٠ وسألني تفويض تسميته اليه ، فاجبته الى ذلك فسماه «الباهر» ، وعهد الي بصيانته، لأنه وجد قريحتي قد سمحت به ، في غرة الحداثة ، والسن تسعة عشر٠ فبدأت بمعاملته بوصيته واستدمت صيانته الى ان انتشر من تآليفاتي في هذه العلوم ما لا يتيسر لي احصاؤه كثرة ٠ وكثر التشفع من الاخوان الي في ابرازه ، وسرى من صيته قبل اخراجه ما يكفل باعزازه ٠ فاسعفت اكرمهم علي به ٠

שלמה אלחריזי — תחכמוני — שער ג׳

[על אברהם אבן עזרא. וא״כ:]

ויצחק בנו גם הוא ממקור השיר שאב. ועל שירי הבן מזיו האב. אך בבואו לארצות מזרח, כבוד ה׳ עליו לא זרח. והסיר מעליו מעילי הדת היקרים. ופשט את בגדיו ולבש בגדים אחרים.

ורבי יהודה בן עבם גם הוא בא מארצות ערב למזרח. ובדרך השיר ארח. ולו שירים חמודים וערבים. וקצתם כאפס נחשבים. לא ערבים ולא טובים. גם הוליד בן פריץ. הפליא נבלות והמריץ.

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יוסף סמברי

דברי יוסף

[A. Neubauer, Revue des Etudes Juives V pp. 52-55]

פיפור שמואל ן' עזריא מכת מגשימים. מוכה בסנורים. והזיד בערמה על תורת ה' תמימה: ודברים מלבו בדה: על התורה ועל העבודה: ועשה ספר אלאפחאם: שחור כפחם: והתפאר עלינו כי הוציא ספר לדת ישמעאל: והבדילו ה' לרעה מכל שבטי ישראל:

ובשנת תקנ"ח לחשבונם היא שנת ארבעת אלפים ע' נ"ז ליצירה מורקה מינורת באיש אחד ושמואל ן' עזריא שמו ובשבילו שררה שהיה בו כי היה בקי בלשון ישמעאל ככתבם וכלשונם חבר ספר נגד היאודים והשיג על תורת משה עצמה ומביא ראיות מן הפסוקים בלשון הקדש בכתב ישמעאל ומפרש אותו את"כ כפי סבריהו הנפסדת וחרף וגידף והטית דברים כלפי מעלה ודבר סרה באלקים ובמשה וזה יורה על מיעוט שכלו וחסרון דעתו ובדה דברים מלבו אשר לא צוה ה' וחבר ספר נגד היאודים וקרא שמו ביסמעאל אפחם אליהוד ר"ל השפלת היאודים והלעיק מזה הספר סגרים רבים וחלקם למלך ולטרים כדי למצוא חן בעיניהם ולהבזות בעליהן בעינידן ובהחילת ספרו חבר קונטרס אחד וקרא שמו כתב אלרואיא ר"ל ספר המראה ואמר הסבדה בספרו כי בלילה אהד בחלומו ראה מראה גדולה ואור גדול ואש מתלקחת בקרבו ואיש אחד יושב על הכסא כנגדו ועל מצחו טוטפת ובראשו מצנפת לבנה ונצימה בת מאתים אמה ושערת זקנו מגיעים עד טבורו ובידו ספר פתוח ויקרא אליו ויאמר לו יאודי למה אהה לא תאמין בי ובנבואתי ולא השמע אלי כי אנשים אחים אנחנו ואביא לך ראיה מספר הורת משה שלך ויטהומם על המראה ויאמר לו מי האדון המדבר הנני ויען ויאמר לו אני הוא מחמד מאד[1] אשר שלחני ה' לרעות את עמו גשה נא אלי וכשמעי את דברי האיש ואת שיחו ויקוד וישתחו ארצה עד גמהו עד אחיו והראה לי הכתוב הזה כתוב בכתיבת ישמעאל ומדבר בלשון ישראל והוא זה נביא מקרבך מאחיך כמוני יקום לך ה' אלהיך אליו תשמעון ופירש לזה הפסוק על עצמו שהוא מבני ישמעאל אחי יצחק וישתומם על המראה ואש מתלקחת בקרבו ויאמר עשו בלבו ודאי גם בו בחר ה' ויטכם בבקר ויחבוש את אתונו והלך לכפור בתורת משה וישראל והיה כאחד מהם וחבר זה הספר נגד היאודים וכשירצה להביא ראיה רעועה כפי שכלו הנפסד מביא ראיה מפסוק ישראל ומתרגם בלשון ישמעאל ומחזיק גם כן באמונת הטלוט ואומר שהוא ודאי המשיח האמיתי ומעליל עלינו עלילות ברשע כי התורה מוחלפת וגרענו

1 (אויל הנביא) משגע איש הרוח (הושע ט', ז').

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והוספנו וכדי לאמרת דבריו במדת קו על הוהו וכתב כי עזרא הסופר גרע והוסיף והחליף והביא ראיה כי התורה לא נתנה כלה להמון העם אלא לכהנים בלבד אבל המון העם לא ניתן להם אלא טירת האזינו בלבד שנאמר ואתה כתבו לכם את השירה הזאת ולמדה את בני ישראל אבל לכהנים נתן להם את התורה כולה שנאמר ויכתוב משה את התורה הזאת ויתנה אל הכהנים בני לוי וכשגרמו העונות והחריב נבוכדנצר הרשע בירת המקדש ושרף את התורה והגלה את ישראל לבבל נשתכחה מהם התורה כי איך הם יושבים בגלות ובארץ אויביהם כמה שנים רבות ורעות ויודעים את התורה בשלימות כי הורקו מכלי אל כלי ובגולה הלכו והיו נשכחים כמת מלב עד כי לא ידעו דבר עד שקם אחד מהם שהיה כהן ושמו עזרא והיה יודע איזה פרק מן התורה שהיתה מסורה לו מימות משה וחבר להם תורה אחרת כפי מה שיעין בשכלו וראיה לזה איך יתכן כי התורה כתוב בה ויתם ה' איך יתכן לומר כנגד הש"ית דיתם ה' ויעיד הקטה כפי שכלו המזוהם כי אפילו המהרגם טרצה להקן קלקל באמרו וינחם ה' והב ה' במימריה ואם ידיעתו מוכרחת בכך וגלוי וצפוי לפניו שהידים לחטא ועל חנאי זה ברא את האדם איך יתכן לומר ויתם ה' או והב ה' במימריה וגם כן כתב בספרו איך יתכן לומר וירח ה' את ריח הניחוח או וייתצב אל לבו והוא מביא ראיה על מלת וייתצב כמו בעצב הלדי בנים. וגם כתב פסוק והדרין שהי בנות לום מאביהן איך יתכן על איש זקן בא בימים שנשבעו שהי בנותיו מביאה ראשונה ואם אפשר לומר שהידה זה המכתה בודאי בלי ספק אם כן המשיח שלהם שהם מקוים ומצפים לו ודאי כפי שטחם הוא ממזר ח"ו שהוא ברורת המואבידה: וגם כן כתב וחרף וגדף על חז"ל שאמרו בשר בחלב מן התורה שהוא אסור דכתיב לא תבשל גדי בחלב אמו ומתרגמינו לא תיכול בשר בחלב והוא פירש שהו' מותר ופירש מלת לא תבשל כמו הבשילו אשכלותיה וכזה וכזה חרף וגדף והשיח דברים כלפי מעלה ובדה מלבו דברים שלא נתנו לכתב ואסור לשמעם וכל שכן לכתבם בכתב ועוד הפליל עלינו עלילות ברשע וכתב בספרו על עובדיהו שנשתמד בימי מחמד מאה ולמצא חן בעיני הנביא פירש לו אלהה תורה ד' שלום כלה ואמר כי בשכלו הזך ובחריפותו הוציא להם דבר מתוך דבר וחדש להם דין המגורש מבעלה הראשון ונשאת לשני ונתגרשה גם כן ורשתה לחזור לראשון אפילו שכתב בתורה היאודים לא יוכל בעלה הראשון אשר שלחה לשוב לקחתה הוכל לחזור בזה האופן והוא שתתיחד עם איש אחר ויבעלנה פעם אחת ולא אשמה לו ובזה מותרת לחזור לבעלה הראשון ועל פיו הם נוהגים כי אמרו שהוציא זה הדין לאמיתו להודיע חבתו של עובדיהו ד' שלום הנקרא אצלם עבד אללה ד' כלאמי ויפה כיון וזה המקדלל מהר עיבל כתב עלינו שאנו כוהבים בספרים שלנו ומחרחרין ריב על עבד אללה ד' כלאמי כי לא תקן להם זה הדין אלא בכונה הנכון כדי להוציא לעז על בני ישמעאל ולעשות אותם ממזרים. וכזה וכזה דבר טרה באלהים ובמשה להתעולל עלינו עלילות ברשע ובפשע. ובכן יבא בעל הכרם ויכלה את קוציו וישמח ישראל כיוצא חלציו אמן.

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